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THE BITTER APPLES OF SODOM.

The phenomena which nature presents on the shores of the Dead Sea are so extraordinary, that it would have been wonderful if imagination had not been excited by them to fictions which surpass the real marvels of that region. Among these, the bitter apples of Sodom hold a conspicuous place—fruits beautiful and golden to the eye, but within full of dust and ashes, and yielding to a touch. They served in poetry and rhetoric as an apt similitude of the deceitful pleasures of sin; and one writer after another having repeated the wonderful tale, naturalists came to consider them as a real part of the Flora of the shore of the Dead Sea. A plant whose fruit actually contained a quantity of ashes was too palpable a contradiction to all the laws of nature to be admitted by any one who understood vegetable physiology; but it was thought that there must grow on its borders some plant whose appearance so nearly approached the description, as to have furnished the groundwork of the popular conception.

As long as the Dead Sea had been only partially explored, the failure of travellers to identify the bitter apple of Sodom was no decisive proof of its non-existence. With the exception of the influx of the Jordan, the southern end of the Lake, which Robinson and Irby and Mangles traversed in their way to Petra, and one or two spots, such as Engaddi on the western shore, it was very imperfectly known, and the negative argument from this fruit's never having been found was of course not altogether satisfactory. The expedition of Lieutenant Lynch of the U. S. Navy in 1848, has, however, laid open the whole circuit of its shores, and enables us now to say that no plant exists there which can be considered as the original of the "bitter apple."

There is nothing in Scripture to justify the common accounts of it. In the narrative of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, no effect permanently produced on the vegetation is alluded to (Gen. xix. 24—28). The allusions in Deuteronomy xxix. 23, preclude the idea that any kind of fruit-bearing shrub could grow on the blasted soil. "The whole land thereof is brimstone and salt and burning, that is not sown, nor beareth, nor any grass groweth therein, like the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboim." In the vision of Ezekiel, who anticipates that the curse shall be removed, and the waters of the Dead Sea be sweetened, it is said (xlvii. 12), "By the river, on the bank thereof, on this side and on that shall grow all trees for meat whose leaf shall not fade, neither shall the fruit thereof be consumed,"—a sufficient indication that in the actual state with which the prophetic vision is contrasted, nothing throve or came to maturity. The Wisdom of Solomon (x. 7) speaks of the land of the Five Cities as "producing

plants that bear fruit never attaining to maturity," ἀτελέσιν ὥραις καρποφοροῦντα φυτά, but nothing more specific. When Josephus wrote, however, a much nearer approach had been made to the popular notion of the apples of Sodom. Having related some true and some false things respecting the water of the Dead Sea and the bitumen which it produces (Bell. Jud. iv. 8), he proceeds: "They say that the land of Sodom was burnt up by lightning for the impiety of its inhabitants, and you may still see remains of fire and obscure traces (σκιάς) of the Five Cities, and ashes reproduced even in the fruits, which have a colour similar to those which are fit for food, but being plucked, dissolve into smoke and cinders." Tacitus (Hist. v. 7) might almost seem to have copied Josephus: "Haud procul inde campi quos ferunt olim uberes magnisque urbibus habitatos fulminum jactu arsisse; et manere vestigia terramque specie torridam vim frugiferam perdidisse. Nam cuncta sponte edita, aut manu sata, sive herba tenus aut flore, seu solitam in speciem adolevere, atra et inania velut in cinerem vanescunt." He did not, however, believe that there was anything supernatural in the perishing of fruits and herbs: "habitu lacus infici terram, corrumpi superfusum spiritum eoque fœtus segetum et autumni putrescere reor, solo cœloque juxta gravi." It does not appear that either Josephus or Tacitus meant to attribute to the shores of the Dead Sea the production of any specific fruit which vanished into smoke and ashes when gathered. They seem to have regarded it as the universal characteristic of all its fruits; Tacitus, indeed, of all its vegetable productions. It has been the error of the moderns to suppose that some specific shrub or fruit was meant, and seek for it among the actual productions of the shores of the Dead Sea.

I am not acquainted with the works of Troilo, who, according to Winer (Biblisches Real Wörterbach s. v. Sodom), declared that he had found the plant which answered to the description. As no one else has done so, it is evident that he deceived himself. Hasselquist, the pupil of Linnæus, thought (Travels, p. 287) that he had discovered it in the *Solanum Melongæna* of Linnæus, which he had found, not, however, in the neighbourhood of the former site of Sodom, but near Jericho. The fruit of this plant, according to him, is sometimes attacked by a *tenthredo*, and when this is the case, the interior turns to dust, while the exterior remains of a beautiful colour. This, however, is evidently inadequate to account for the story, which requires that some fruit, in its ordinary state good for food, and gathered for the purpose, should prove full of ashes instead of being edible. But no one would confound a Solanum with an apple, and the resolution of the contents into dust is an exceptional thing, arising from disease. Later travellers have been inclined to suppose that the *ösher* is the original of the apples of Sodom. "One of the first objects which attracted our notice on arriving at Ain-Jiddi," says Dr. Robinson (Bibl. Res. II. 235), "was a tree with singular fruit, which instantly suggested to our minds the far-famed fruits

'which grew
Near that bitumenous lake where Sodom stood.'

This was the ösher of the Arabs, the *Asclepias gigantea* or *procera* of botanists, which is found in abundance in Upper Egypt and Nubia, and also in Arabia Felix, but seems to be confined in Palestine to the

borders of the Dead Sea. We saw here several trees of the kind, the trunks of which were six to eight inches in diameter, and the whole height from ten to fifteen feet. The fruit greatly resembles externally a large smooth apple or orange, hanging in clusters of three or four together, and when ripe is of a yellow colour. It was now fair and delicious to the eye and soft to the touch, but on being pressed or struck it explodes with a puff, like a bladder or puff-ball, leaving in the hand only the shreds of the thin rind and a few fibres. The pod in the centre contains a small quantity of fine silk with seeds, which the Arabs collect and twist it into matches for their guns; preferring it to the common match, because it requires no sulphur to render it combustible."

The ösher is figured in Hoskins's Travels in Ethiopia, p. 240, and a glance at it will be sufficient to convince any one how unsuitable a representative it would be of the accursed soil of Sodom. The leaves, flower and fruit are alike beautiful, and had the ancient writers spoken (which they have not done) of an "apple of Sodom," we could not suppose this to be the plant they meant. It does not grow on the saline and sulphurous soil supposed to mark the vicinity of the devoted city; Dr. Robinson found it in the beautiful oasis of Engaddi. It is true that in Palestine it grows only in the vicinity of the Dead Sea; but this is because the climate of that deep depression assimilates its productions to those of the valley of the Nile, to which the ösher properly belongs. There is nothing in its fruit which could give rise to the tale of its dissolving itself into smoke and ashes, which is the very point of Josephus' story, as this was the perpetual proof of the destruction of the city by fire. And though a traveller from a distant country might be misled by its appearance and take a wind-ball for an orange, no native could be so deceived.

It is not impossible that in ancient times, when every effort was put forth to make the most unpromising portion of Palestine productive, the culture of the vine may have been attempted on the shores of the Dead Sea. I infer that this was the fact from the language of Deuteronomy xxxii. 32: "Their vine is of the vine of Sodom and of the fields of Gomorrah; their grapes are grapes of gall, their clusters are bitter." The produce of such a soil, however cultivated, could be only harsh and crude. Lieut. Lynch mentions the excessive bitterness of a melon, or what seemed like one, grown near the south end of the Lake. But this inferiority or degeneracy of the fruits of the soil gives no countenance to the supposition that there was any specific plant or shrub bearing the name of apple of Sodom; and we cannot avoid the conclusion that naturalists are losing their labour in endeavouring to fix upon one. The apple of Sodom is a mythe.

While the progress of accurate knowledge thus sets aside the exaggerations of poetry and superstition, it confirms the sober statements of the Bible. The salt and sulphur which impregnate the barren soil of the Dead Sea, the bitumen which rises from its bed, the thermal springs which are ever sending up their smoke, correspond with the descriptions of Genesis and Deuteronomy; and of the portion of its shores to which the site of the Five Cities is specially referred, it is still true, "that it is not sown, nor beareth, nor any grass groweth thereon." K.

KENRICK'S FOUR DISCOURSES.*

We use an ordinary phrase to express a strong and deep feeling when we say that we have read these "Four Discourses" with very great pleasure. At any time, discourses on such a topic from the writer's pen would be very acceptable. At the present, they possess a peculiar value. Our readers cannot be unaware that in regard to the value of the Bible we are in the midst of a very serious crisis, one effect of which has been to disturb the minds and shake the opinions of many, so as to create a widely-spread fear that the foundations of the Gospel are insecure. To that fear we have ourselves in no way yielded, having, not without evidence, come to the conviction that the Church of Christ is founded on a rock. The rather are we thankful for the opportune service here rendered by Mr. Kenrick, who in these Discourses interposes his judgment after having heard and weighed the arguments of both the assailants and the defenders of the Bible. To that judgment great deference will, we believe, be paid. No one is more fit than the author to speak on "the Value of the Holy Scriptures," and the testimony which he has borne is marked by his characteristic calmness, good sense and good feeling. The repose of the style, if somewhat a drawback from the Discourses considered as addresses to a miscellaneous audience, adds greatly to their value when regarded as a decision from the judgment-seat. The simple and judicious statements here put forth contrast very favourably with the far-fetched and grotesque metaphors, the nicely-balanced antitheses, the startling hyperboles, which characterize some attacks on the Bible. Imagery useful in illustrating and enforcing truth, is often employed to bedeck and disguise error, and can scarcely fail to be dangerous in an issue in which are involved certain facts—facts of the highest moment. The value of the testimony given to the Bible by Mr. Kenrick is the greater, because his admiration of its contents is anything but indiscriminate, and he wisely rejects the old and now exploded notion of its plenary inspiration and absolute infallibility.

"There was a time when Christians believed that the Old Testament was, with few exceptions, as much the rule of life to them as the New. An oracle, it was thought, must be of equal truth and equal value in all ages. Every maxim contained in it was supposed to have the weight of an eternal truth, every precept the sanction of a perpetual obligation. Every character exhibited there was supposed to have been brought into existence, for the benefit of all succeeding generations. The language of the Old Testament was applied in a sense widely different from the true, in order to justify this claim of universal application, and no allowance was made for the imperfect conceptions of a people of little mental culture or refinement. The evils which resulted from this excess of veneration and perverted use have led many, as was natural, into the opposite extreme, and the Old Testament is sometimes spoken of as if its contents were of no value to the Christian, or might even lead him into dangerous error. There is, however, a middle ground which may be securely maintained. If the doctrines of the Old Testament be nothing but what the writers attained by the ordinary use of their faculties, then we should cease to speak of it as the oracle of God, or the word of God; for

* The Value of the Holy Scriptures, and the Right Mode of using them. Four Discourses by John Kenrick, M.A. London—E. T. Whitfield.

such terms would have no meaning as used by us. But on the other hand, they should by no means be understood as implying a belief in the Jewish or the popular notion of their inspiration, which would make the writings of the Old Testament as much a law of action and standard of belief to us as to the Jews. We believe them to be 'profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness;' we believe that in them God revealed his own nature, attributes, and providence, in an age when the world had forgotten or never known them; that owing to such a revelation a purer religion and a nobler morality was in every age taught to the Jews than to any other people of the ancient world; and in this sense we call their Scriptures the word of God and his oracle."—Pp. 3, 4.

Having stated the theological position which he holds in relation to the Scriptures, Mr. Kenrick proceeds to set forth certain facts which illustrate their value.

"One of the first questions which man asks himself, when his reason has grown so strong and active as to reflect on what he sees, is, 'How did I myself, and the world in which I am placed, and the tribes of living creatures which share it with me, and the firmament of heaven, and the bright orbs which fill it—how did we all come into being?' It would be foreign to this place to enumerate the answers which popular belief, among the heathen nations, has given to this question. They comprehend every possible variety of erroneous opinion—production without any intelligent cause or by a multitude of causes—but nowhere except among the Jewish people had the sublime truth been enunciated with which their Scriptures open, 'In the beginning God created the Heavens and the Earth.' In these simple words, what a fruitful truth is revealed; what wide-spreading errors cut up by the roots! To know that the whole universe has one Creator; that creation was an act of design and intelligence; to be further told that its author contemplated his work and 'called it good;' is to possess all the elements of religious veneration, confidence, and love. It is to be effectually guarded against dividing among 'Lords many and Gods many' the homage and affection which are due to one alone. It is to be freed from the still greater danger of believing a malignant principle to have had a share in the production of the world. These words contain a creed which the least cultivated mind can understand and profitably embrace; and yet it would tax the ingenuity of the philosopher to frame a more correct or more expressive declaration of the first great truth of natural religion."—Pp. 5, 6.

Next ensues a very clear and striking exposition of the fact, that in the Bible "Providence no less than Creation is uniformly ascribed to one God" (pp. 9, 10). Moreover, "what a powerful auxiliary to the influence of virtue and religion in the minds of the Jewish people was furnished by that long series of excellent characters which the oracles of God record" (p. 11). In speaking to the objection that the morality of the Old Testament is imperfect, the writer, among other wise observations, remarks, "A system may be sound in principle, as I apprehend the Jewish system was, inasmuch as it made obedience to the will of God the rule of man's actions, and yet wrongly applied and perverted in practice from want of due knowledge, or from the counteracting influence of custom, or the bias of passion and self-interest." On the prophetic writings Mr. Kenrick speaks thus:

"I will mention one other advantage which the Jewish people enjoyed, inasmuch as to them were committed the oracles of God. To their contemporaries the Prophets were preachers of righteousness, reproving them for their sins, and especially for their idolatries, and warning them of the calamities which their own or their rulers' folly was about to bring upon them.

Collected and preserved among the sacred records, their writings answered another very important purpose. They kept alive in the nation the belief that a time was coming, when some messenger of Jehovah, transcending in power and dignity all who had appeared before, should rise among them, and establish a kingdom, including all nations, in which Jehovah alone should be obeyed and worshipped. This hope animated the spirit of the nation, and preserved the remnant of the Captivity firm in the profession of a belief in the unity of God, in spite of persecution, humiliation, and political subjection, till the end of the ages was come, till the immediate purpose of the Jewish dispensation had been accomplished, and the Sun of righteousness was about to arise. Had this hope not existed among the Jews, it would have been impossible for our Saviour to have awakened that earnest and immediate attention which was necessary, in order that in the brief space of his ministry he might lay the foundation of a new religion. Salvation might indeed have come to man in some other way, devised by Providence—but salvation would not have been of the Jews. Indeed, it is not easy to imagine where apostles, missionaries, and martyrs could have been found among the sceptical, heartless, sensual men who made a nominal profession of the Heathen religions. Earnestness and faith nowhere existed except among the countrymen of Jesus. Even as regarded his claims 'blindness happened to Israel in part;' they rejected the King of Glory; they would not have the Son of God to reign over them. Yet we cannot doubt that the best and soundest, and most religious part of the nation were among those who followed him during his life or joined themselves to his Apostles after his death. They had learnt from their Scriptures to be waiting for the consolation of Israel, and when Jesus appeared among them 'full of grace and truth,' they acknowledged that this was 'he, of whom Moses and the Prophets had spoken.'"—Pp. 14—16.

The quotations we have given are taken from the first discourse, which treats of the Old Testament. In the second discourse, the New Testament is handled with equal judgment, skill and effect. The third and fourth discourses speak of "The Means of understanding the Scriptures." Among these means the foremost place is rightly assigned to good translations. On King James's Version there are these valuable remarks:

"Our own, in its present form, was the work of the most learned men whom England could furnish in the reign of James I. They understood the resources of their own language and the qualities which belong to a popular version; and Time has enhanced its beauty, and in some measure concealed its imperfections, by spreading over it that venerable hue which no recent work can possess. Its forms of expression have become hallowed by association with our deepest feelings and loftiest emotions. The substitution of another, in the current language of the day, is no more to be desired, if it were practicable, than the destruction of our ancient religious edifices, that the land might be covered with buildings of modern architecture. The occurrence of a few words of obsolete meaning is easily remedied by instruction. But as a guide to the meaning of Scripture it has glaring defects. Every reader must be aware that there are many passages, in the Old Testament particularly, which convey no meaning to him; and the biblical scholar knows that where a sense does appear, it is often a false sense. How should it be otherwise? The learned men of the age in which it was made were, indeed, more profoundly learned than the present generation, but learning itself was imperfect. No one now ventures to quote as an authority an English translation of a profane author, of the same time as that in which the translation of the Bible was produced. The texts from which translations were then made had been hastily and uncritically settled, and the manuscripts which have since been discovered or examined, have led to many corrections in them. The princi-

ples of criticism have been established by the researches of several generations of scholars; the knowledge of ancient languages generally has been greatly improved and enlarged. Hebrew philology in particular, has assumed a new character from the cultivation of other eastern languages which are closely allied to it, and a vast mass of information has been collected tending to illustrate the meaning of Scripture. Could the venerable authors of our common translation return to the world, and after comparing the present state of sacred learning with its condition in their own day, find that no use had been made of these treasures, to give the English people a more correct representation of the word of God, they would wonder and grieve at the supineness of their successors. It would seem to them as if the Lord had poured out the spirit of deep sleep upon them, and closed the eyes of the prophets and the rulers and the seers. For certainly it was far from their thought, 'that their own was so absolute a translation, as that hereafter none might follow, who might see that which was not yet understood.'"—Pp. 62—64.

Of scarcely less importance is a familiarity with Eastern life.

"There are no better guides than books which bring the Eastern world of the present day, especially the countries which were the theatre of the events of Bible-history, vividly before our eyes. It remains, fortunately for our purpose, unhappily for itself, nearly in the same condition as it was two thousand or four thousand years ago. Revolutions pass over it, but make little change in its outward or inward character. Palestine, Syria, Arabia, Mesopotamia at the present day more nearly resemble those countries in the patriarchal times, than our own country does Saxon England. In their buildings we find traces that Greece and Rome once exercised dominion over them; in their language and manners—none. Wandering shepherds, who, like the ancestors of the Jewish people, dwell in tents, ignorant of the luxuries of civilized life, administering justice among themselves, implicit in obedience to their patriarchal chiefs, but owning no allegiance beyond their tribe, still occupy the regions where Abraham and Isaac and Jacob pastured their flocks and herds. The successors of the fierce Chaldeans still, as in the days of Job, fall suddenly on their peaceful neighbours and plunder them of their sheep and their oxen and their camels. The laws of hospitality, when once the relation of host and guest has been established, are still sacredly observed; vengeance for blood is still pursued with the same unrelenting pertinacity. The doctrine of the Unity of God, adopted by Mahomet from Moses, or preserved by tradition among the descendants of Ishmael, still lives, and reproves the great corruption of the Christian faith.

"Nature, too, in all her great features and operations, remains the same in the East, not having been controlled or modified by civilization. Every spot characterized in sacred history retains its character, and bears eternal testimony to the truth of Scripture. The traveller still sees Hermon covered with its snows, and finds on Lebanon the remains of its forest of cedars, which once furnished materials for the temples and palaces of Jerusalem. He ascends the top of Carmel and admires the wide horizon which the prophet sent his servant to explore, in order that he might see if a cloud were rising anywhere, to give the promise of rain. Superstition has covered the Holy Land with legends, which the criticism of modern times rejects, but those who put no faith in monkish tales acknowledge the strict conformity of its present aspect with the facts and allusions of Scripture. It is, indeed, grievously changed, as regards the character and condition of its inhabitants. A rule more harsh than that of Syria or Rome has empoverished and debased them. No fisherman plies his calling on the Lake of Genesareth; but the Lake is pure and beautiful and romantic, as of old, ruffled at times, too, by storms from the mountains, which would be equally dangerous as in the days of the Gospel, if any sail were now spread upon its waters. The pilgrim who goes from Jerusalem to Jericho, that he may bathe in the stream in which the

Saviour was baptized, understands well as he passes through the wild mountains, in perpetual fear of an ambush, why here was laid the scene of the parable of the Good Samaritan, and the robbery by which the object of his compassion was left stript and wounded by the road side. No one can read without emotion in his chamber, the discourse in which our Saviour foretold the destruction of Jerusalem; but how much better do we understand it, when we know that opposite to the Mount of Olives, on which they sate, the Temple, crowning the hills of Zion and Moriah, stood in all its splendour before the eyes of the disciples. The aspect of the Promised Land, scantily peopled, and tilled as those may be expected to till, who have no security that they shall reap, seems little in accordance with the descriptions of the Bible. But more accurate observation removes this impression. Traces of towns, numerous and populous, are found where now all is desolation. High up on the mountain sides, now rough and barren, are seen the remains of terraces, which supported the soil carried there by the hands of man, and of the canals by which the water brooks were conducted to refresh and fertilize it. To read the descriptions of oriental travellers does not merely gratify the taste, by giving us a glowing picture instead of a naked outline; they aid our understanding of the words of Scripture, and increase our faith in the veracity of its writers. Every one returns from the East with a firmer conviction that they must have lived amidst the scenes which they describe. Finding them thus faithful, where we have the means of testing their fidelity, we have a right to throw the burden of the proof on those who assert that their narratives are less faithful than their descriptions. The lands of the Bible have been surveyed of late years more accurately, and their manners studied more thoroughly than was practicable in former times, and there is hardly a volume of Eastern travel which does not afford some illustration of Scripture."—Pp. 68—71.

The extracts we have given will afford the reader some means of estimating for himself the value of these Discourses. Should he think of them as highly as we think, he will not fail to promote their influence by recommending them to the attention of his friends. Glad should we be to know that they had obtained a very extensive circulation; and we would respectfully submit to the author the propriety of publishing them in an edition still lower in price than that in which they make their appearance before the public. Rich and benevolent laymen could not employ their talents better than by giving effectual aid for the distribution of these Discourses, and other writings of a similar value and tendency.

The immediate occasion which led Mr. Kenrick to compose and deliver these sermons is very interesting, especially to those ministers and laymen who have enjoyed the great advantage of being pupils of their author and his venerated father-in-law:

"The following Discourses were delivered to the Congregation assembling in the Presbyterian Chapel, St. Saviourgate, York, during a temporary occupation of their pulpit, occasioned by the illness of their venerable pastor. They are published at their request and with his sanction."—Pref. p. iii.

TOO MUCH.

Too much is seldom enough. Pumping after your bucket is full prevents its keeping so.

Do and have done. The former is far the easiest.—*Guesses at Truth.*

AMERICAN SLAVERY. No. III.

Sir,

In the Northern States, I might often have forgotten that I was not on British ground; but in the South, I was continually reminded that I was no longer in the land of the free. The captain of the steamer from Wilmington, N. C., to Charleston, S. C., demanded our age, profession, native land, &c., as if we were entering a foreign country.

South Carolina, the "Nullification State," is famed for its high notions respecting "State rights:" it is also peculiarly sensitive on the Slavery question, for the slaves preponderate (350,000 slaves, 280,000 whites); whilst in all the Southern States taken together the white population is twice as numerous as the slaves. Calhoun, the stern upholder of slavery, was one of its senators in Congress; and what made it peculiarly interesting to me at that juncture, was, that his death was just announced; and I attended a public meeting, called in consequence at the City Hall, at which the Governor presided. There was a great deal of impassioned eloquence.* They were exhorted to vow, as over his body, "inextinguishable resistance to tyranny:" and as his death was hastened by his efforts for the Southern party, there were various allusions to the death-wounds of Cæsar, &c.; and one speaker suggested that he was sorry that, instead of electing a successor, they could not leave his empty seat, decked in mourning, to speak to the hearts of the senators. The audience thought the idea very beautiful: doubtless the North would equally have admired it;—votes are precious.

The next day I attended a much more numerous meeting, convened at the Military Hall, the largest in the city, to appoint delegates to the Nashville Convention. The views taken were strangely different from those to which I had been accustomed. So far from these Southerners being ashamed of themselves, as worse than sheep-stealers, they seemed quite in earnest in regarding themselves as injured men struggling for great rights. They spoke of the Revolutionary war as caused by less provocation than they had now, though England had been quite as dear to them as the North: the Northerners were all Abolitionists, or sympathizers with them, and a Southerner felt like a foreigner among them; he was ostracised: disunion was a serious matter, and none should take part in these preliminaries who were not prepared for the horrors of civil war, &c. I was not struck with the ardour of the meeting: such stirring speeches, if they met with the popular approval,

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* An interesting anecdote was related of Calhoun. At the time of the Ashburton treaty, the Administration was very unpopular. A gentleman connected with it, however, who was not on good terms with Mr. C., felt the importance of its ratification so much, that he called on him, dwelt on the horrors of war with "glorious old England," and told him, that whatever might be the faults of the treaty, it seemed to be the only way of preventing war. Mr. C. said that he would take it into consideration, and would not allow personal feelings to influence him. When the Senate met, in secret session, for executive business, and appearances were strongly against the Administration, Calhoun rose, and produced such an impression that the treaty was carried. Persons of all parties shook hands with him, and it was truly said that such an hour was worth a life.

would have been much more loudly cheered with us; but their habits on these occasions are quieter, and it was regarded as very enthusiastic. It was ludicrous, though painful, to hear them complain of "Southern wrongs," and aggression and tyranny, in apparent unconsciousness that they are themselves regarded by many as the greatest tyrants and aggressors and wrong-doers on the face of the earth. It is, however, no new thing for men to dwell on some apparent injustice towards themselves, rather than on their own injustice to others. In their estimate of the constitution as "pro-slavery" (as well as in their desire for disunion), they coincide with the Garrisonians. Those who declare that they will admit no new State without the Wilmot proviso, appear to them dishonest. "We have bought these lands from Mexico," they say, "with our blood and our treasure; unless you can bring back our dead and pay our costs, we are entitled to our share. You knew what persons we were when you entered into partnership; it is too late to disclaim us now; either give us our share, or we will break up partnership and take our share. You add insult to injury when you urge that our institutions would bring disgrace and evil on these lands. Better be tyrannized over by a king, than by a majority who are constantly getting more and more outrageous in their exactions!" They seemed quite as much in earnest as some Unitarians are against the British and Foreign School Society, which has pocketed our money and would now cast us out. "Think of your compact," say we; "be honest!" "Honesty may be the best policy," say our opponents, "but we must not peril the immortal souls of children for morality, or policy, or anything else." "Observance of compacts and oaths may be all very well," says the North, "but human freedom is far above them all." Thus the South thinks of the North, so we of the orthodox; in each case, the other party thinks itself misrepresented.

In the evening a friend introduced me to a meeting of his club, composed of some of the most influential men of the city, including some of the Professors of the University. The subject was, The Philosophy of the Union. The opener of the discussion regarded slavery as a divine institution and a providential arrangement. Cotton, rice, &c., were needed for human welfare: incalculable misery, in Europe as well as America, would result from their failure: they would fail without coloured labour. West-Indian experience proved that without slavery sufficient labour could not be procured, whilst the race was sinking back to a state of savage existence, and wretched neglect and ruin prevailed.* Wilberforce's labours were abortive, as the British Government was convinced that the horrors of the Slave-trade had only been increased by compulsory efforts to check it. Slavery had done far more than missionary effort to civilize the coast of Africa: the Liberians would teach the natives the useful arts which they had learnt whilst slaves. It was absurd for persons in the North, living in an entirely different climate and in quite another state of society, to judge for them. Union was very important: on no continent had the idea of unshackled intercourse been so fully developed: it was delightful to travel from one State to another without restrictions and imposts;—still, if union

* I have before adverted to the one-sided use made of some official reports from the West Indies.

only forced persons together to quarrel, who might be friendly if separate, it ceased to be a blessing. England was the great anti-slavery country: it was not interest or calculation that made it so. The prosperity of the colonies was not consulted. There was such a strong *sentiment* against slavery, that it had to be abolished. England refused to give up slaves, and was the great exciter of anti-slavery feeling in the North; and yet it so happened, that they had now kindlier feelings towards England than towards the North. The North and South took entirely different views, and then difficulties arose from the attempt to make the North the supporter of a system which it abhorred. The South would get on better by itself. Its energies had stagnated; disunion would stimulate them. It possessed the world's supply of cotton, and it had a North within itself, the manufacturing capabilities* of which would soon be developed. This gentleman spoke in the calmest manner, and evidently laid great stress on the Bible: he bore the highest character, I heard, for purity and integrity of character.

A clergyman said, that he was glad to hear slavery spoken of as a civilizing instrumentality. He thought that the moderate opponents of the system would not feel such abhorrence of it if they regarded it as transitional, and preparatory to a better state. If the Negroes were to be the educators of Western Africa, they must themselves be educated. (This was demurred to; the education meant was only of that kind which was insensibly derived from living among civilized men.) He could not give any hopeful view for the future. Whatever might be the temporary alternations of feeling in the North, it was on the whole becoming more decidedly opposed to the system. The churches of the North were divided, if not formally, yet in feeling, from those in the South. He felt under a ban in New England. He believed that there were 20,000 pulpits where prayers were offered against slavery every Sunday, and in many of them sermons were annually preached against it.—Another clergyman spoke very bitterly of the immoral doctrines of the Northern church: the sanctity of oaths and compacts seemed utterly despised.

One gentleman remarked that he did not entertain the least hope from Webster, who spoke as a constitutional lawyer. As Texas had been admitted, he would carry out all the provisions then made; but he avowed that he had opposed those provisions,—that he was averse to slavery, and would take all constitutional means to discountenance it.

It was believed that the New-Englanders, who were of Puritan origin, were moved by a sincere, though narrow-minded and overbearing, sense of duty; but New York was spoken of contemptuously, as the hotbed of socialism and wild theory, peopled by a mixed race, and making concessions only through mercenary motives. It was stated that when Governor Seward† visited the South, he said that he was merely acting as he felt compelled to by his constituents. The idea that individual conscience was higher than all law or compact, was the purest fanaticism (!) ‡

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* And not improbably its anti-slavery tendencies also!

† Vide C. R., p. 488.

‡ The Catholic says, Hear the Church; the Puritan, Hear the Conscience; the Politician, Hear the State. We consider the Catholic immoral, in setting

Of course I took no part. In the midst of much that grieved me, it was interesting to hear the way in which they referred to their English origin,* and their respect for the mother country (this feeling prevails far more in the old States of the North and South than in the Middle States); and it was a comfort to find, that though the Northern clergy are considered by the Garrisonians as scandalously lukewarm, they are regarded by the supporters of the system as doing more than any other body to diffuse a general sentiment against it. It was a favourable opportunity for hearing the opinions of a number of sensible and influential men, conversing among themselves. They seemed to have no idea that they were in the wrong; but spoke in the tone of persons who had been calumniated, and who were about to be cheated. If slavery was what they represented it in theory, and what in the practice of some few wise and kind persons it may be, it might be viewed with that calmness with which we contemplate those faulty systems which, in the Divine government, seem designed to prepare the way for what is better. Conversing with a number of gentlemanly men on the matter abstractedly, is like a friendly chat with officers who have been engaged in our ambitious wars. If we happen to witness a flogging, naval or military, or to come across the victims of rapacity, lust and fury, and hear *their* tale, it is not quite so pleasant.

The next morning I saw in the newspaper several advertisements of sales, by a merchant whom I had met the evening before. They were to be held near the Post-office, and I resolved to be present. Of course my acquaintance did not officiate in person, any more than a high-sheriff would act as hangman; meaner men are found ready to do discreditable work. There were several slaves for sale. They stood upon a bench by the auctioneer, lot after lot. I did not observe any fetters or show of violence. On the whole, I would rather have seen them: it would not have seemed such an ordinary, commonplace matter. The absence of precaution to prevent escape shewed that escape was regarded as hopeless. Outward force is less mysteriously horrible than the influence which paralyses a man's inward strength. I did not remark any of those indecencies, as regards the dress or the handling of the persons for sale, which so frequently reveal the inherent and essential indecency of all such sales. There was no peculiar excitement, and only about thirty persons were present. They were selling a young man when I came—a good boy, he would not run away (the "goodness" was that of a prisoner; he looked stupid and sullen); afterwards a black girl, who manifested her shame at being sold; a mother and her children; an old man: I wondered that any one would buy the duty of taking care of him in his declining years. As some persons think no jest so good as a perversion of what is *sacred*, so others seem to find something ludicrous in the perversion of what is *human;* and if incongruity is the soul of wit, a heartless wit may find amusement in the outrageous incongruities of a human market: and I saw in many present a sneering expression, which I have often noticed in persons who have

aside oaths to serve the Church; the Politician thinks us immoral, in setting them aside to serve private Conscience; we and the Catholics think the Politician impious, to set Church and private Conscience at nought to serve the State.

* Some of the principal people of Charleston, however, are of Huguenot extraction.

to look on that which they dare not regard seriously. I thought, too, that I detected a brutality of tone which men do not acquire from dealing in sheep. The sales I have specified were not quite consecutive; for though they took but a very short time, it was longer than I could endure to remain, for they made me half hysterical, half sick; and in order to retain the necessary composure, I had to go away once or twice to recover self-control. What the deadening effect might be of seeing such a thing often, I do not care to inquire. I have seen it once: I went as a duty—a duty I hope never to have to undertake again. I found that those who viewed it as a necessary part of a necessary system, could not understand my emotion, nor the horror which I assured them my friends would feel at the very sight of the advertisements.* Those, however, who perceived how shocking I thought it, were anxious to impress upon me that it was regarded as discreditable to sell, except in cases of emergency, and that great efforts were made to provide as comfortable places as possible for those from whom they had to part, and not to separate families. No doubt the kind persons who spoke in this way would act thus themselves; and I saw in one of the papers an advertisement—"A likely black girl, 17 years of age; a good house-servant; to remain in the city, as she is sold for no fault;" and in a few other cases, "to be sold to a city resident;" but generally the advertisements shew no such consideration. I had intended to copy all the advertisements relating to slavery which occurred in a single paper, the Charleston Courier, April 9, 1850,—since, as I hope that your volumes will long outlive the "peculiar institution," they may hereafter be regarded as curiosities. I found, however, that there were about twenty-five, relating to the sale of about 250 slaves; and I will not distress you with more than a few specimens:

"NEGROES WANTED.—Wanted to purchase, likely young NEGROES, for which the very highest market price will be paid. Apply to M. McBRIDE, 1, Chalmers Sr." He might have spared his advertisement if he had applied to "THOS. RYAN & SON, 12, State Street," who announce "NEGROES AT PRIVATE SALE: Between 60 and 70 NEGROES, consisting of Field Hands, Cooks, Washers and Ironers, House Servants, Coachmen and Hostlers, &c." "AT PRIVATE SALE, an uncommonly fine family of NEGROES, consisting of one Woman, 40 years old, a first-rate washer and ironer, with her three children, one 19, one 14, and one 8 years old. They are town raised, of unexceptionable character, and perfectly healthy" (you will observe that there is no mention of a husband; and I may say the same of the other "family" advertisements in the paper); "also, a very valuable SHIP CARPENTER, about 35 years old. The above property is offered simply to change the investment, and is well worthy the attention of persons wishing such. Apply at the office of D. C. GIBSON, Esq., 84, Church Street, up stairs." "On THURSDAY, the 11th inst., at 11 o'clock, at the North of the Custom House, will be sold, A PEW in St. Peter's church, known by the No. 72, and situate in the south aisle. *Also*, Two Slaves, viz. PEGGY, an elderly woman, and JEOFRY [her

* A gentleman told me, that as there must of course be sales, he thought public ones best. Some Southerners, whose chivalric notions about white women are in the inverse ratio of their respect for womanhood when the skin is coloured, would be shocked at our statute-fairs, where women stand in the streets for hire, exposed to the staring scrutiny of every passer-by, sometimes even allowing their hands to be felt, as evidence that they had been accustomed to hard work. Whilst, then, we have public hirings, it is not the *publicity* of the sale, but the fact that there is a *sale* at all, which is to us so utterly revolting.

son], a prime young fellow. Conditions, cash; purchasers of the Negroes to pay for the bill of sale." "Under decree in Equity" (!), I find, "*Also*, one-fourth of the following NEGROES (!), viz. Cæsar, Bob, Esau and Simon." "*Pastry-cook* and *Saleswoman*, BY THOS. N. GADSDEN. THIS DAY, the 9th inst., will be sold, at the North side of the Exchange, at 11 o'cl., an uncommonly intelligent WOMAN, about 40 years old, a complete laundress and pastry-cook, and has for a number of years acted as a saleswoman. Conditions, cash; purchaser to pay for bill of sale." "BY THOS. N. GADSDEN, THIS DAY, the 9th inst., will be sold, at the North side of the Exchange, at 11 o'cl., a likely WENCH, about 30 years old, a good cook, washer and ironer, with a child about ten months old; the Wench to be sold without any warrantee of soundness, except the title, which will be warranted." The idea of "property" is developed in an "*Estate Sale, by permission of the Court of Equity*, BY ALONZO J. WHITE. This day, 9th inst., at 11 o'clock, at the North of the Custom House, will be sold — CLARINDA, ELLEN, ISRAEL and JEOFRY, accustomed to culture Rice on Cooper River. Conditions, one-third cash; balance in one and two years, with interest from date, payable annually, secured by bond, mortgage and approved personal security. Purchasers to pay for papers." The names in the following all savour of the "patriarchal:"— "BY JACOB COHEN, will be sold, THIS DAY, 9th inst., at 11 o'clock, near the Exchange, ISAAC, a field hand, Leah and child. Conditions, cash; purchasers to pay for bill of sale." Artizans are advertised:—"a Tailor;" "a Sailor;" "valuable first-rate House Painters;" "a very intelligent Negro FELLOW, about 27 years old, a good Bricklayer and an excellent three-coat Plasterer."

But I need not inflict further extracts upon you. The descriptions of the *slaves* (a *word*, by the way, which I rarely observed) vary. Men are "Negroes," or "fellows," or "Negro fellows," or "boys;" once, I see, "two prime able-bodied men." Sometimes the idea of service is most prominent; they are "hands," occasionally "servants." We do not see any surnames; sometimes no names are given—*nos numeri sumus*. Slaves are "likely," "very likely," "very intelligent," "uncommonly intelligent," "prime fellows," "of good character," "highly qualified." Often they are "to be sold without reserve." The number of boys and girls who are sold indicates the greatest disruption of families. In this paper I only observe one advertisement respecting a fugitive, but in another (April 13) I see four:—SANDY has been captured and lodged in the workhouse. WILSON has run away from his plantation. NANCY ran away, Jan. 6; it is supposed that she may have made her way to "the neighbourhood of her former owner." Perhaps a wife's or mother's affections may impel her there. "A reward of 50 dollars will be paid for proof to convict any (responsible) person guilty of" "harbouring my fellow JACOB." At one time, it was difficult to get any white servants in the South. The progress of emigration, however, is producing a change in this respect; they advertise themselves as "a respectable white female," "a respectable white girl," &c. Sometimes we find—"Wanted, a white female of good character;" but also— "Wanted to hire, a coloured girl;" "a nurse for an infant—coloured preferred;" "a young and healthy brown woman without a child preferred."

The pride and avarice of white artizans are both against slave rivalry; and in proportion as white persons are found to occupy positions which have been previously filled by slaves, will the jealousy of the humbler free population against the slaveholders increase. Calhoun would have been glad, as regards the perpetuity of the system, for the

slaves to have been confined, if possible, to the rural districts. An intelligent Negro mechanic, in frequent intercourse with those who (intellectually speaking) are at present a superior race, must be far nearer the condition of a freeman than the plantation "field-hand;" whilst the fact is more palpably brought before him that his earnings go to another, and that if he were free, he would not be that helpless thing that his master is fond of representing him.

Perhaps it is impossible for any finite mind to view anything in its completeness. When we resolve that a system is not to be tolerated, we concentrate our attention on its evils, and cease to regard what once blinded us to them or mitigated their force; and we are apt to forget that there are others, in many respects as conscientious as ourselves, who, viewing the system as a matter of course, are very impatient with those who lay almost exclusive stress on what they deem the exceptions. Those of us who have laboured in moral reforms know how difficult it is to convince persons who live in temperance and respectability, of the enormous evils, which they never witness, that are connected with systems which they palliate. Popular writers have now made the wretchedness of our lower classes somewhat familiar to us, but this is only within the last few years; and to understand the position of many in the South, we must remember, that not only is there a ban put on all literature at all impugning slavery,—so that they only hear one side,—but that, in consequence of the violent and indiscriminate judgments which are reported to them, as passed upon all slaveholders, their feelings are enlisted in behalf of friends and relatives whom they know to be unjustly accused, and even their patriotism seems constrained to defend "the peculiar institution." Accordingly, I found ladies, especially, excusing or palliating it. They may have never seen any cases of brutality, and had witnessed a great deal of kindness. And it must be remembered, that the enervating effect of a Southern residence weakens the stern conscientiousness of the Puritan race, and enhances the difficulties of a fundamental change.

The slave is not protected by law, and is at the mercy of his master; but in intercourse with our own servants it is not dread of law which teaches us forbearance. This dread, however, may have its indirect influence, and the tendency of despotic power to corrupt the possessor is proverbial; yet, whilst dependence provokes tyranny, it may call forth the kindlier feelings of the mild and gentle. I visited very few private houses where slaves were kept, during my Southern tour, and did not observe any difference in the mode of addressing these slaves from what is usual towards servants in England. Indeed, Southerners have expressed themselves to me as disgusted at the rude way in which servants are often treated in the North.* Of course I made a point of thanking them for their services, as we do in England; and as the men-servants do not wear liveries, and there is nothing in their appearance to indicate their condition, they did not *look* so degraded as some of our powdered menials, nor was there so much subservience in their

* The circles in which I mixed, both in the North and South, were usually of the better condition, and therefore I cannot speak from my own observation; but I was told that the independence and occasional rudeness of the "helps" was met by equal rudeness on the part of employers, who did not know how else to maintain their authority.

general deportment. When I have had occasion to walk or ride with them, I was not disturbed by the perpetual touching of the hat in conversation. This, however, may result from the general custom of society; and there would be more difference in manner between a white American and a slave, than between an English mechanic and a footman. To see the coloured people at their "weekly jubilee," the Saturday market,* which is mostly supplied by them, or to watch them on the Sunday before the doors of their houses, chatting merrily with one another, one would not imagine them a wretched people. Our sadness, however, awakens when theirs sleeps. We know that, whilst the masses may seem resolved to make what they suppose the best of their condition, the noblest among them are wretched even in their ease, and are bitterly longing for the hardness of the freeman's lot. Complacency in slavery is the perfection of its curse.

A tourist who did not look at advertisements, and never came across a slave-sale, might not have his feelings much lacerated by what met his eye. He is not importuned by beggars. He sees no thumb-screws, or slave-whips, or fetters, hung up in the halls, nor is he awakened in the morning by screams. His own kindly looks may be reciprocated by those who wait on him, and there may be nothing to remind him that he is not receiving free-will service. There is, however, a place in this city where persons may, if they please, send slaves whom they deem refractory or dishonest. It was an old sugar-house, and was not along ago the scene of a formidable riot. When I was at Charleston, a new building was in course of erection. The Southerners boast that they do not punish their slaves so severely as the law does offenders in free States: such boasters seem wilfully blind to the atrocities so frequently perpetrated. Even if mild persons shrink from being their own executioners, and selfish ones do not choose to be at the expense of the maintenance of a slave when unproductive,† it does not prove the humanity of the South; but may indicate our inhumanity, if our punishments are more severe than we should ourselves choose to inflict on any in whom we had a direct interest.

The prevalence of persons of the intermediate shades of colour, who for obvious reasons are more numerous in the cities than on the plantations, tells its own sad and disgraceful tale. In former times there were instances in which a white man would marry a coloured woman, and set her and the children free; but now no one can be set free and remain in the State. A high-minded man would as soon be the *son* of a slave as the *father* of one; but these persons, who cant about liberty, seem to take a pleasure in being the parents of slaves! Which is most free in soul,—the mother who weeps to see her children in bonds, or the father who loves to have them so? He is the degraded slave of lust and mammon. The mixed race are, in the South, the evidences of licentiousness. On this matter, those who are acquainted with investigations connected with this most painful of subjects will perhaps feel

* It is held in a commodious erection down one of the principal streets, and is lighted with gas. Basket-work and rough upholstery were for sale, besides meat and vegetables.

† Five hundred dollars a month has been paid to the city for board of the prisoners by their owners.

that we in England cannot with propriety assume any Pharisaic attitude; nor is the condition of our myriads of victims of seduction much to be envied, even by Negro mothers. Fortunately, we are spared one temptation to hypocrisy; for there you may hear grave divines arguing against the union of races, as something abhorrent to the laws of nature, whilst palpable proofs to the contrary are everywhere before their eyes; and, if I am not mistaken, a coloured man is punishable with death for having intercourse with a white woman, whilst her brother may with impunity corrupt his (the coloured man's) sister. It is not then, colour, but slavery, that has most influence here. The coloured children of the white woman would be free, and mammon has no motive to pardon the disgrace. The coloured children of the black woman are slaves: the owner cares little who the father was; perhaps prefers a white one, because they may be more intelligent.—But the disgust which I feel in adverting to this topic, teaches me some allowance for those who willingly are ignorant of the worst horrors of slavery.

My visit at Charleston was to the Rev. Dr. Gilman, a native of New England, whom a residence of thirty years in the South has familiarized with the feelings of the place. He is, nominally, a slaveholder, and is much respected in this metropolis of slavery—circumstances sufficient to secure him the denunciations of some abolitionists. He certainly occupies a position which would be fatal to *my* peace of mind, but yet I hope that he is indirectly promoting the great cause of freedom. He has held a slave for many years, I believe; how he became possessed of him, I did not inquire: by the law of the land he is prevented from setting him free to reside in the State. He treats him, however, with the same kindness that he shews to his hired white servants, pays his wages into the savings' bank, and whenever he is disposed to leave the State, those wages and his free papers are ready for him. One of Dr. G.'s daughters has lately married in New England, and she wished to take this servant with her, when of course he would have been free; but he naturally preferred remaining in the scenes with which he was familiar. If he went Northward, the climate might not suit him, and he would find himself comparatively isolated on account of his colour. At present, knowing that he is virtually free, he may feel in a better relative position in the South, where the majority are of his own complexion and not so fortunate as himself. I need not descant on the obvious iniquity of the law; but any censures are manifestly unjust which confound those who strive to mitigate the evils under which they live, with those who aggravate them. And possibly it might savour as much of pride as of humanity, if, to avoid the *name* of slaveholder, Dr. G. should drive a man who was attached to his country into *compulsory* exile. If all slaveholders followed his example, slavery would of course be a nonentity; and I was glad to be able to adduce it to those who professed to me that, living in the South, they could not do otherwise than fall in with the ordinary customs. Dr. G. heard me with much candour when I commented with my usual freedom on the evils of the system. From his connection with the North, as well as from natural disposition, he was a devoted adherent of the Union, and censured those whose bitterness he regarded as a cause of the tenacity with which the South clung to an institution which he thought would

have yielded before the combined influences of Republicanism and Christianity. He had, however, no sympathy with those who spoke lightly on the subject, and expressed the pain that he felt when professing Christians at Boston advocated the delivery of a fugitive (under the old Act) on the ground of their *commercial* relations with the South.

At his request I preached for him on Sunday, April 7. His church was larger, apparently, than that at Washington; and they talk of either enlarging or rebuilding it. It is situated in the midst of a spacious burying-ground, which then bloomed with Cherokee roses and other flowers, in striking contrast to the snow which I had left at Washington. It was not the fullest season, but there was a good congregation, and in the galleries were many coloured people—several of them, I believe, slaves. Ladies and gentlemen were in the same galleries, and I did not see a more marked distinction than between the rich and the poor at home.* Had I been told that I was only to preach on certain conditions, I should certainly have declined altogether; yet, whilst no such conditions were imposed, I felt that I was not there to gratify my own impatience at evil, but to do what good was in my power. When I was in the pulpit, it occurred to me to shew Dr. G. this expression—"We would remember those who are in bonds, as bound with them"—in the written prayer which I thought of using.† He told me that he might perhaps use the expression, to which, in itself, there could of course be no objection, but that its employment by a stranger would give rise to much irritation and remark; and that, in the present highly excited state of public feeling, it was for me to consider whether I wished to drop a spark upon gunpowder. If it had been a sentence in a *sermon*, my pride might have dictated its retention, come what would. Yet even abolitionists indignantly blame those whose honest speech wounds their feelings; so perhaps it would have been a false pride which would lead me to utter what would offend without convincing. And in a mixed congregation, where slaves are present, one cannot wisely say what one might address to masters alone. The Great Teacher spoke as the people were able to bear it. In a public prayer, however, the minister speaks in behalf of the people; and if he utters that as the people's which he *knows* is not,—if he inflames their rage, whilst he professes to be drawing their thoughts to God,—he can scarcely be offering *true* worship. Accordingly, I selected another prayer. Perhaps there may be some pulpits, even in England, in which ministers do not feel themselves perfectly free to set themselves in direct opposition to the strong and prevailing sentiment in their societies; but during the whole of my visit to the South, I had a most

* I ought not to forget that in the chapel that I attended as a boy, the ministers of which were undoubted friends to freedom and Christian equality, the poor had their separate seats; and after the sermon, my childish admiration was excited by seeing a troop of livery-servants leaving the chapel,—it seeming of more importance that their masters should not be kept waiting for their carriages, than that they themselves should join in the concluding devotions of the congregation.

† The American pulpits are very large, and usually contain a sofa or two or three chairs. When a stranger preaches, it is the custom for the minister of the place to sit in the pulpit with him. Written forms of prayer do not appear to be used in America. I thought it wisest, however, to act on my usual custom of employing my manuscript in what we call the long prayer.

painful conviction of the humiliating bondage in which all public men are held on this topic. I conversed freely, because I was a traveller and an Englishman; but I found that a whisper of blame was as effective and audible there, as a shout of reproach on the subject in the North. Another reflection was more consolatory: I had often heard the prayers of Northern ministers for the slave treated with something like derision; but I found that they are not regarded as idle words, and that there are few things more distressing to a religious Southerner than the knowledge that those under his yoke are continually the subjects of prayer, as peculiarly requiring the Divine compassion and deliverance.

I partook of the Lord's Supper. At one part of it we were invited to think of our absent friends in Christ, and there was a pause for that purpose. Certainly, if we remember the Head, we should call to mind the members also; and as a stranger in a foreign land, I felt it peculiarly interesting to be led to go in thought to those who were so near me in heart. About thirty or forty Negroes communicated with us. They were seated on benches down the middle aisle, and I believe that the senior deacon handed them the bread and wine.* After the service, an aged Negro came up and shook hands cordially with Dr. Gilman and myself, and hoped to see us at their evening meeting. He was an interesting old man. Before the present law rendered such a step illegal, he had bought his freedom with his savings, and a day or two after he had acquired it he broke his arm. A double loss: for had he remained a slave, his master was bound by law to maintain him; or had he desired his freedom, he could of course have procured it at a much reduced rate. He had however many kind friends, who contributed to his support. There is often *open-handedness* where there is not *even-handedness:* the South loves generosity more than justice.

The second service in the church, according to the usage which still prevails in America, was in the afternoon. In the evening I attended a religious meeting of Negroes, in a large upper room adjoining Dr. Gilman's house, which lasts from about seven to half-past nine o'clock. Mrs. G. makes a point of attending, and Dr. G. generally looks in. I believe that such evening meetings would be illegal without the presence of a white person. Miss Fredrika Bremer, whom I had previously met at Cambridge, Mass., was now visiting Charleston. She had been my hearer in the morning, and was now, like myself, desirous to be present at a scene so strange to us. We and two or three other visitors had the inferior places: it was our turn now to sit down the aisle. The service was conducted by two old black men, one of whom read, very imperfectly, John xiv., which had been my lesson in the morning, expounding it as he proceeded.† The other could not read at all, but said that he was moved by the spirit, which was above the letter. A prayer-meeting for the women followed, the presiding brother telling them to be short. One prayed in a most beautiful, beseeching tone:

* I have heard that in most places the black and white communicants do not meet, but receive the rite at different times. I relate what I saw. There was more religious equality than in a Catholic congregation, entirely white, where the laity are excluded from the cup.

† When he came to the 22nd verse, he said, "Now you shall hear the objection made by the traitor. 'Judas saith unto him, Not Iscariot, Lord,'" &c.

the interest which I felt in the others was principally derived from their condition. One infirm old lady seemed to have a better heart than head. She not only prayed to, or invoked, Christ, but Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, &c., and her "dear pastor" (who was not then present). She seemed full of intense gratitude that she had been able that day to attend public worship, for the first time after many months' illness. Many of her expressions were very touching. Hymns were sung, but with little credit to their musical powers. When they were told to sing "more spiritually" (spiritedly?), they gave us one or two characteristic songs: one was a sort of Easter recitative. The minister walked among them and gave out a line, such as—"I go before you to Galilee;" then the rest sung "Hallelujah!" with great zeal. The burden of another song was to this effect—"We shall have nothing at all to do but ring Jerusalem;" and they did "ring Jerusalem," with amazing animation, the old man gesticulating, and the others waving to and fro and singing with the greatest earnestness.

I came away much moved by what I had seen and heard. I was painfully impressed with the evil of keeping our brethren in degrading ignorance; but I also felt, never more strongly, the significance of that text, "The Spirit maketh intercession for us, with groanings which cannot be uttered." Their scarcely intelligible exclamations were often the promptings of that prayerful spirit which God hears as clearly as our distinct requests—often, in their very distinctness, undevotional. I recognized the blessedness of religion: to it these poor people owed what little instruction they possessed: low as they are, criminal as are those who keep them so, they are thus raised far above their pagan ancestors, and indeed above all who have not the knowledge of God. Slavery would have made them "without hope," were it not that the gospel gives to them, as freely as to us, "life's best cordial." They adverted in their prayers to their hope of sitting on thrones in heaven, and to their enjoyment of the reward of faithful service. I was reminded of those whom Paul exhorted, if they might be made free, to use it rather (1 Cor. vii.), but at all events remembering that the time was short, just to perform those duties which Providence assigned them. The words "Our Father" had an affecting significance. Here was the Swedish novelist, and the English preacher, and the Northerner proud of freedom, and the master, and the slave; but it was one Father to whom we were all praying, and we were brethren, going to the same home; and all our local and conventional differences seemed paltry when contemplating the infinite. Commonplace truths startle us in uncommon circumstances. The old minister spoke of me as "the brother over the water," and wished me to say a few words: so I simply told them that I had come from a far land, and might not see them again here; but I hoped that we might all meet in that better land, to which those who obey their Lord and Master* Jesus were hastening. My heart responds to this prayer, as I now repeat it in my dear native land. Religion widens and deepens our sympathies: it unites us to those from whom we seem diametrically to differ, intel-

* I had been struck with their frequent use of the expression, "Master Jesus." I thought that they would have had such painful associations with the word *master*, that they would not have applied it to the Saviour.

lectually and morally. Where a cultivated taste, or fastidious refinement, repels us,—where even humanity finds little to attract it,—or where, on the other hand, a narrow philanthropy indignantly forbids our attachment,—a belief that the divine nature exists, however obscured, in every soul, awakens a solemn conviction of brotherhood. No complexion conceals it, no oppression can crush it out, no sin can utterly destroy it: and so we feel when in the Father's presence.

As I am writing to those whom I suppose well acquainted with the horrors of slavery, I need not remind them that religion, as usually administered in the South, awakens no such earnest sense of brotherhood; that its *perversions* soothe the tyrant, and make the slave's degradation more complete; that the Protestant zeal which sends Bibles to savages abroad, subsides into a Papal reserve towards the servile population at home; that God's word is thus dishonoured, and the ambassadors of Christ become the spiritual police of the powers of the world. I am not, however, hopeless as to the future; and if you desire it, I may, in some further observations, intimate the reasons of my hope.

Yours respectfully,

Neath, Aug. 23, 1851. R. L. Carpenter.

ON THE BOOK OF EZEKIEL.

In the fifth year of the captivity of the Jews (B.C. 595), while living in the land of the Chaldees, by the river Chebar in Mesopotamia, Ezekiel sees a vision. There are four living creatures, with four faces and four wings each. Above them, Jehovah is sitting on a throne. Jehovah calls him Son of Man, and sends him as a prophet to the Jews living in captivity, and gives him a book-roll to swallow (i.). He is to take a tile to represent Jerusalem, and to lay siege to it. He is to shave his head, and burn one third part of his hair, and smite a third part with the sword, and scatter a third part to the winds. So is it to be with the Israelites, because they kept not the commandments (v.). He is ordered to prophesy the slaughter and pestilence and famine which is to fall on the land, and the scattering of the people (vii.).

In the sixth year (B.C. 594), he sees a vision of the idolatry of Jerusalem; idols in the very temple; women there lamenting for the Syrian god Thaumuz. He is ordered to prophesy the punishment of the city (ix.). He there sees the four cherubs and Jehovah, as he saw them in Chaldæa. Jehovah tells him that though he will scatter the people, he will guard them in their captivity (xi.). He says that the king, meaning Zedekiah, will be taken prisoner, have his eyes put out, and die blind and in fetters in Babylon (xii. 13). And the people shall be scattered. Though visions have often failed, this shall not fail (xii. 28).

He denounces the false prophets and those who set up idols. The land has sinned so that if Noah, Daniel and Job were in it, their righteousness should only save themselves. But in mercy a remnant shall be spared (xiv.).

As a vine that is unfruitful, so Jerusalem shall be burnt (xv.). The idolatry of Jerusalem is described as adultery with Egypt, Assyria, Canaan and Chaldæa. Samaria was not half so sinful (xvi.).

The prophet tells a parable, which he afterwards explains, of an eagle, the king of Babylon, who plants a vine, king Zedekiah. This vine leans towards another eagle, the king of Egypt. But the king of Egypt shall be of no use to him, and Zedekiah shall be carried prisoner to Babylon (xvii.).

He defends God's justice, in answer to the proverb, that the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and therefore the children's teeth are set on edge (xviii.).

He compares Jerusalem to a lioness with whelps. One young lion, perhaps Jehoahaz, is brought with a nose-ring to Egypt. So a second young lion, perhaps Jehoiachin, is put in his place. But he is taken with a nose-ring in a cage to Babylon (xix.).

In the seventh year (B.C. 593), he relates the old rebellions of the people in Egypt, in the desert, and in the promised land; and how they were spared. He adds that now also God will not deal with them according to their evil ways, but spare them for his name's sake (xx. 44).

He prophesies that the king of Babylon will come down against the Ammonites, and against Judah. Jerusalem shall be utterly destroyed; it shall be no more, until He come to whom judgment belongeth, and to whom God will give it (xxi.).

He describes the sins and unrighteousness of the people, and the ruin which comes upon them as a punishment (xxii.).

Samaria and Judah are compared to two lewd women. Samaria dotes on the Assyrians, and is therefore delivered up into their hands. For the same reason, Judah is delivered into the power of the Chaldees. They shall both be stoned to death as a punishment (xxiii.).

In the ninth year (B.C. 591), he relates that the king of Babylon marches against Jerusalem, and the city shall be burnt, as an impure vessel is purified in the fire (xxiv.). And the Ammonites shall be cut off, because they rejoiced when the temple was profaned. For the same reason, Moab shall be given up to the sons of the East. Edom shall be desolate from Teman to Dedan, because they were revengeful against Judah; and the remnant of the Philistines shall be cut off on the sea-coasts (xxv.)

In the eleventh year (B.C. 589), he relates that because Tyre laughed at the misfortunes of Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, shall come against it with horses and chariots. He shall destroy the walls, and break down the towers, and make Tyre like a naked rock, for fishers to spread their nets on (xxvi.). The planks of the Tyrian ships were of cypresses from Mount Hermon, the masts of cedars from Lebanon, the oars of oaks from Bashan, the benches of ivory and cedar from the Chittians, the sails of linen from Egypt. Their trade was with Tarsus, and Greece, and Syria, and Arabia. But they shall be ruined, and Tyre be a desolation for ever (xxviii. 19). And Sidon shall be humbled (xxviii.).

In the tenth year (B.C. 590), he prophesies against Egypt. Pharaoh, the great crocodile, shall be pulled out of his river by a hook, and left to die in the desert, because the Egyptians did not save the house of Israel. Egypt shall be waste from Migdol to Syene on the borders of Ethiopia. After forty years, the Egyptians shall be brought back, but be a mean kingdom (xxix. 16).

In the twenty-seventh year (B.C. 573), he adds: Nebuchadnezzar,

king of Babylon, has conquered Tyre; and God will give him the land of Egypt as wages for his army. The images shall be destroyed in Memphis. Upper Egypt shall be laid waste. Tanis shall be burned, and Thebes punished. Heliopolis and Bubastis shall fall by the sword, and at Tahpanhes shall the day be darkened (xxx. 19).

In the eleventh and twelfth years, he also prophesies against Egypt that it will be conquered by Babylon. Assyria has been overthrown; Elam has fallen by the sword; Armenia and Iberia are slain; Edom is slain; Sidon is slain; and Pharaoh also and his army shall be slain by the sword (xxxii.).

The prophet is to tell the people that the wicked who turn from their evil ways shall live, and the righteous who do wrong shall die. And in the twelfth year he tells those who remain in Judea that the land shall be laid waste (xxxiii.); that the rulers are unjust; but hereafter God will recal the scattered flock, and again feed them on the mountains of Israel. God will raise up a new David as a prince or ruler over them. They shall no more be a prey to the nations, but dwell in safety (xxxiv.).

The Edomites are to be punished because they were the enemies of the Israelites in the time of their calamity (xxxv.). But Israel shall be multiplied, the cities shall be inhabited, and the ruined places rebuilt. God will cleanse the people from idolatry, not for their own sakes, but for his holy name (xxxvi.). The dry bones of Israel will come together, bone to bone, skin will grow upon them, and God will breathe life into them, to people the land. So shall the tribes be united, not into two kingdoms, but into one kingdom, and David shall be their prince for ever (xxxvii.).

The prophet is ordered to pass sentence on the Scythians, whose leader he styles Gog, of the land of Magog. These fierce rovers were overrunning the land of Judah. Many of them were on horses, with shields and swords. Persians, Ethiopians and Lybians were with them. They plundered the unarmed villages of the cattle and goods. But after marching to the south, they turned northward along the coast, where they were routed, and perished by the way of the sea (xxxix.).

In the twenty-fifth year of the captivity (B.C. 575), the prophet, to keep alive in his countrymen the hope and the wish to return, describes at great length, through the last nine chapters, the manner in which the temple is to be rebuilt and consecrated, the altars, the ceremonies, the festivals and the fountains, and the new division of the land among the people (xlviii.).

Ezekiel's style of imagery is very peculiar, and was perhaps gained from the place of his captivity. In force and in poetic beauty, he falls far short of the older Hebrew prophets. In chapters xvi. and xxiii., he is unpardonably gross, and his images prove the low state of society in which he was living. His faith is strong in the restoration of the kingdom, and in the coming of a second David to rule over Israel for ever. And every blessing that he wished for the people, he only hoped for as a reward for their obedience to God. He was writing in captivity in Mesopotomia at the same time that Jeremiah was writing under still greater hardships at home.

SAMUEL SHARPE.

LIFE OF MR. BAINES.*

The late Edward Baines, of Leeds, had various claims on the respect and regard of the public. As a man who by the force of his talents, and still more of his upright and consistent character, raised himself greatly above the social rank in which he was born, the story of his life deserves to be told. As a judicious instructor of the public mind in political truth, whose influence was great and to the last progressive in one of the busiest and most improving districts of England, the record of his labours has a use beyond the gratification of curiosity. But the highest claim which Mr. Baines possesses on the respect of posterity is, that he was one of a little band of intelligent and faithful men who, careless of their personal ease and interests, stood forward in the dark days of Tory misrule and the wide-spread political corruption which lowered on this country during the first twenty years of the present century, as champions of the rights of the people. We feel assured that a slight sketch of his personal career and his public services, derived chiefly from the unpretending volume recently published by his son, will be acceptable to our readers.

Edward Baines was born Feb. 5, 1774, at Walton-le-dale, near Preston. His father, descended from a line of yeomen of liberal political principles who had been settled in the North-Riding of Yorkshire, was a grocer. Previous to the birth of Edward, his second son, he had been engaged in a costly suit with the municipal authorities of Preston in an unsuccessful attempt to vindicate his right, though not a burgess, to carry on business within the limits of the borough. The political principles of Richard Baines were adverse to those of the Tory corporation of Preston, and it is probable enough that the proceedings instituted against this young free-trader in Preston were prompted as much by the desire to eject a political opponent, as by regard for the monopoly enjoyed by the burgess traders. Edward, a healthy and sprightly child, was at two years of age adopted into the family of an uncle residing at King's-land, near Hawkshead. He attended in early childhood the free grammar-school at Hawkshead, then and subsequently an important academical institution, but now, like too many similar institutions in various parts of the country, fallen through lamentable mismanagement into neglect and decay. The school was then taught by Edward Christian, who afterwards became Downing Professor of Law in the University of Cambridge. The poet Wordsworth, though older by several years, was a schoolfellow of Edward Baines. From Hawkshead he was removed to the grammar-school at Preston, where he suffered from the ignorance, if not from the fierce discipline, of a pompous and ill-educated master. Even in his boyhood Edward Baines was little disposed to submit without resistance to brute force.

"It is not surprising that the lads learnt as much from the spirit of their master as from his precepts, and that one of those juvenile rebellions, better known of old than at present as a 'barring-out,' was attempted. The doors of the school were fastened with huge nails, and one of the younger lads (my

* The Life of Edward Baines, late M. P. for the Borough of Leeds. By his Son, Edward Baines, Author of the History of the Cotton Manufacture. 8vo. Pp. 372. Longman and Co. 1851.

informant) was let out to obtain supplies of food for the garrison. The rebellion having lasted two or three days, the mayor, town-clerk, and officers were sent for to intimidate the offenders. Young Baines, on the part of the besieged, answered the magisterial summons to surrender, by declaring that they would never give in unless assured of full pardon and a certain length of holidays! With much good sense the mayor gave them till the evening to consider; and on his second visit the doors were found open, the garrison having fled to the woods of Penwortham. They gained their respective homes under the cover of night, and from some interposition they escaped the punishment they had deserved."—P. 17.

Other indications were given, at a period of his life a little later, of his courage and love of adventure. He and four of his companions conceived the idea of emigration.

"They had read that in the United States there was a great encouragement for every kind of talent, and especially a want of good schools: and having a comfortable conceit of their own qualifications, they planned the establishment of a superior academy on the other side of the Atlantic. Here, as in every thing else, young Baines seems to have been a leader, having great influence over his associates. Accordingly it was understood that he should be at the head of the establishment: one of the number was to be professor of botany, another of music, and so on. The scheme had been elaborated for a considerable time, maps consulted, and pocket-money saved; but the amount of their practical wisdom may be judged from the resources with which the expedition was undertaken. One of them had saved sixteen shillings, another fifteen, and the other three smaller sums. They actually left Preston one Sunday morning on foot for Liverpool, whence they hoped easily to get conveyed to America. In this, as may be supposed, they were disappointed; yet it was not till they had exhausted their small store that they ventured to face their parents and acknowledge their folly. Penniless they returned from Liverpool to Preston on the Friday after their departure, and on the road they relieved their hunger by making a good meal of beans in a bean-field near Rufford. They quietly crept into their several homes, considerably humbler and wiser than when they had left."—Pp. 17, 18.

In his seventeenth year he was apprenticed to Mr. Thomas Walker, a printer and stationer of Preston, a liberal in politics, and in religion an Independent Dissenter. He passed through the perilous period of his apprenticeship morally unscathed, devoting himself resolutely to the study of his trade and to intellectual improvement. A debating society and a news-room, in the establishment of which he took an active part, were the means of saving several young men from the dissolute tavern habits which were then but too common in Preston and other provincial towns. Of Mr. Baines's companions in the office of Mr. Walker, several afterwards distinguished themselves as printers and newspaper editors or publishers in Preston, Liverpool and London. In 1793-94, his master essayed to establish a liberal newspaper, entitled the *Preston Review*. Though conducted with care and moderation, diffusing liberality of principle by the nature of its intelligence rather than by political disquisition in leading articles, which it avoided, the newspaper incurred the odium of Tory corporators, and a Church-and-King mob punished the supposed Jacobinism of the proprietor by planting a cannon so near the shop, that the reverberation when it was fired broke the windows. Aged people in all parts of England still tell of similar and worse outrages committed in their early days with impunity against the persons and property of such as had no sympathy

with the factious cry of "Church and King." The discontinuance of the newspaper, and the consequent diminution of work in the office, led Edward Baines to desire a change of scene and employer. The casual mention of the office of the *Leeds Mercury* by an intelligent travelling bookseller, suggested to his mind the desire of employment there, his tastes being already strongly bent in a political direction. He sought and obtained from his master his indentures, and started for Leeds, where he had some little reason for hoping that he might finish his apprenticeship and find permanent employment.

"There was at that time no public conveyance on the direct route from Preston to Leeds, and the journey by coach through Manchester would have occupied two days. The frugal apprentice, stout of heart and limb, performed the journey on foot, with his bundle on his arm. A friend accompanied him to Clitheroe, but he crossed the hills into Yorkshire with no companion but his staff, and all his worldly wealth in his pocket. Wayworn he entered the town of Leeds, and, finding the shop of Messrs. Binns and Brown, he inquired if they had room for an apprentice to finish his time. The stranger was carelessly referred to the foreman; and as he entered the *Mercury* office he internally resolved, that if he should obtain admittance there, he would never leave it. In a few years the office and newspaper became his own, and so continued till his death."—Pp. 21, 22.

In the office of Messrs. Binns and Brown he completed his apprenticeship and perfected his knowledge of his trade. He practised a strict economy, and during that period of life when young men too often rush into pleasure, utterly regardless of the future, he was laying wide and deep the foundations of his subsequent success and power. He carefully selected his companions amongst those whose characters and acquirements gave promise of respectability and afforded him the means of improvement. Amongst his early associates in Leeds was one, very little older than himself, who by the solidity of his character, the amiableness of his dispositions, and his well-settled principles both in religion and politics, exercised from the first a good influence on Mr. Baines, and afterwards, when they became united in both business and domestic relations, aided in no unimportant manner the building up of his worldly fortunes. This was Mr. John Talbot, father of Rev. Edward Talbot, of Tenterden. There were at the time when John Talbot and Edward Baines met and became friends, many wild opinions afloat, the inevitable result of that upheaving of old usages and thoughts which marked the era of the French Revolution. In a society which Mr. Baines and Mr. Talbot joined, called the "Reasoners," the latter distinguished himself by his firm adherence to revelation, in the rational form in which it was maintained at the Presbyterian chapel, Mill-Hill.*

On the very day following the completion of his apprenticeship, Edward Baines entered business on his own account, in conjunction with a partner named Fenwick. Soon after his entrance on business,

* We have before us at the moment of writing an interesting proof, in the shape of a private letter from Mr. Baines, of the reverence he felt for Mr. Talbot's memory on account of his "sincerity and zeal for the Christian religion." We mention this in passing, because it is an illustration of what we believe to be the important station held by Unitarians. Our system is the only stable breakwater against the encroaching waves of infidelity, and if we are faithful to our trust we may render services which may extort the gratitude of all sincere Christians.

he contracted a marriage with the sister of his friend John Talbot.* She, unlike her brother, was a strict Independent, and had left Call-Lane chapel on perceiving the Arian tendency of the preaching. Until this time, Edward Baines had been a frequent, if not tolerably regular attendant at Mill-Hill chapel. For Rev. William Wood, the Presbyterian minister of Leeds, he ever felt a very strong regard. The picture given of Mr. Baines in his early married life is engaging.

"It is believed that the conduct of Mr. Baines at this period was a perfect model for young tradesmen; and that his humble but happy household was also a model for young husbands and wives. At five o'clock in the morning, and, when occasion required, at four or three, was the young printer out of bed; and whatever neighbour rose early was sure to find him in his office. He was above no kind of work that belonged to his own trade. He not only directed others, but worked himself both at case and press. He kept his own books; and they still remain to attest the regularity and neatness with which he kept them, though he had had no training to that department. Not a penny went out or came in but had its record, either in his office or his domestic account-books. In consequence he always knew the exact position of his affairs."—P. 34.

The great event of Mr. Baines's life—his assumption of the proprietorship and editorship of the *Leeds Mercury*—took place in March, 1801. This journal was one of the oldest of the provincial newspapers, and is known to have been in existence more than 130 years. At the beginning of this century, the best newspapers were sorry affairs when compared with the carefully digested summaries of intelligence, and the admirably written political disquisitions, which now daily issue for the instruction

* The father of John and Charlotte Talbot was in some respects a remarkable man. His name, Matthew Talbot, is not unknown in theological literature by the publication of his "Analysis of the Bible." The account given of him is altogether new to us. "Mr. Talbot was a man of scrupulous conscientiousness, great learning, and unbounded perseverance. By trade he was a currier, but he retired from the business in consequence of the imposition of a new tax which he regarded as unjust. He was afterwards secretary of the Leeds General Infirmary, which office he filled with rigid punctuality and care for thirty-three years, till his death; and it is characteristic of him that he died at the Infirmary, having persisted in going there when dangerously ill to attend to his duties, and the effort bringing on almost immediate death. There was in his character and tastes a venerable simplicity. The Bible was his daily study. He was well versed in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages, and he himself formed more than one translation of the entire Scriptures from the original tongues. He made and published an 'Analysis of the Holy Bible, containing the whole of the Old and New Testaments, collected and arranged systematically, whereby the dispersed rays of truth are concentrated, and every scriptural subject defined and fully exhibited.' This was a work of prodigious labour, and displayed much judgment. It illustrated a remark that once fell from him—'I can honour any draft drawn upon the bank of patience.' He was a great admirer of Paradise Lost; and it was one of his herculean, self-imposed tasks, to commit the whole of that magnificent epic to memory. He also wrote a translation of the Scriptures in English verse, and illustrated it, ingeniously but quaintly, by devices of his own. The Pilgrim's Progress was one of his favourite books. He was a devoted admirer of nature, and would walk many miles to witness from some hill-top the rising of the sun. He wrote respectable blank verse. His temper was not sociable, but he was very fond of children, and would unbend to join in their sports, and even to devise games for them. His spirit was as independent as his perseverance was indomitable. He was indifferent to money, beyond the means of humble comfort. His religious views were evangelical; and so resolutely did he follow the dictates of his conscience, that had he lived in the days of the Reformers or early Puritans, he would in all probability have become a martyr."—Pp. 30, 31.

and pleasure of the public. The provincial papers were of very narrow dimensions, both as to the extent of the type and as to their literary characteristics, consisting, with a slight addition of local intelligence, chiefly of extracts from the London journals. The *Leeds Mercury* in 1801, when Mr. Baines became its proprietor, was not superior to the average country papers.

"The *Leeds Mercury*, under Messrs. Binns and Brown, was felt by the leading men of liberal politics in Leeds to be no representative of their party, but rather more Tory than Whig. To make this especially mortifying, the *Leeds Intelligencer*, at that time in the hands of Mr. Thomas Wright, the son of Mr. Griffith Wright, (and father of Mr. Griffith Wright, Jun., the subsequent proprietor,) was conducted with a large measure of the spirit that animated the *Anti-Jacobin Review*, or even the 'Church and King' mobs. Towards Reformers and Dissenters it was contemptuous, virulent, and insulting. Though with no more of political discussion than its contemporary, the *Mercury*, it inserted frequent paragraphs denouncing and reviling the advocates of reform and of civil and religious liberty. That was, indeed, the too general tone of the Tory party in that day of its undisputed ascendancy; but in the local organ of the party there was even an extra degree of bitterness, together with a coarse personality now happily unknown.

"It happened that at a small party of friends, the defenceless position of the Reformers in Leeds was the subject of conversation. Mr. Marshall, afterwards member for the county, a decided and far-going Reformer, Mr. Peter Garforth, Jun., of Embsay Kirk, near Skipton, Dr. Hird, and Mr. James Bischoff, afterwards author of the 'History of Wool and the Woollen Manufacture,' were among the company. It was suggested that a new journal might be established, which would do justice to their opinions. The suggestion was discussed. At length Mr. James Bischoff said—'If you will find the money, I will find the man.' He had become acquainted with Mr. Baines, and judged him to possess all the qualifications for conducting a Liberal newspaper efficiently.*

"Mr. Baines was consulted, and was found willing to undertake the enterprise, if he could be assisted with capital. At this time Mr. John Binns, the principal proprietor of the *Mercury*, had been dead some years; and Mr. Brown, the Editor, had found it sinking in his hands. Mrs. Binns, the widow, a clever and energetic woman, who carried on the bookselling business, as well as the paper, heard of the project for establishing a new Leeds journal. She sent for Mr. Baines, and offered to sell him the *Leeds Mercury*, together with the good-will of her printing business, and pointed out the advantages of building upon an old foundation, along with the difficulties he would have to encounter in competing with the old Liberal journal. Mr. Baines at once saw the advantages of obtaining the *Mercury;* and perhaps he was the more disposed to it from having been some years in the office of the paper, where

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* The circumstances of the party at which the connection of Mr. Baines with the *Leeds Mercury* was originally discussed, are distinctly remembered by one of the now few survivors, and have been communicated to us. It was at a supper party at the house of Miss Rayner, in Park Row, Leeds. Amongst the guests were Rev. William Wood and Mr. Tottie. When the desirableness of getting the Liberal paper into the hands of a competent editor was talked of, *Mr. Wood* suggested Mr. Baines. In the arrangements for carrying the suggestion into effect, his son, the late G. W. Wood, Esq., took part. He alluded to the circumstances in 1833, in a speech at Leeds on the occasion of a dinner given to Lord Morpeth and Mr. Macaulay. When proposing the toast of the Liberty of the Press and the health of Mr. Baines, Mr. Wood said, "I am old enough to remember the time when the *Leeds Mercury* was transferred into the hands of its present distinguished proprietor. I was privy to that transference, and I rejoice in the amazing benefit which has resulted from the circulation of that distinguished print," &c.

he had become in a measure acquainted with its management and its connexions. He consulted his friends, the leading Reformers, and obtained their approbation of his views, and their definitive promise of assistance."—Pp. 44—46.

Such was the confidence felt in Mr. Baines's integrity, that the required funds were immediately and without difficulty obtained, chiefly from Unitarian friends. Mr. John Talbot, his brother-in-law, soon joined him in the capacity of assistant editor. His good sense and energy were invaluable. It is stated in the Memoir that the *Mercury* was the first paper in Yorkshire that sent a reporter to the York assizes (p. 50). To this we are enabled to add, that this was done at the suggestion of Mr. Talbot. With the prudence which characterized him, Mr. Baines doubted whether the paper could bear this unusual expense. Mr. Talbot met the objection by offering, not only to prepare the necessary report, but to walk to York and back. This he did till the satisfaction of the public, testified by the increased circulation of the *Mercury*, proved that the boldness of his brother-in-law was better wisdom than Mr. Baines's caution. An incident approaching to tragic interest occurred to Mr. Baines in his early domestic life.

"After many domestic deliberations on the prudence of removing to a better house, Mr. Baines had taken one of the new houses—then new, for we are living more than forty years back—on the south side of Park-square; when one November evening, in 1805, about eight o'clock, a fire broke out, and partially destroyed the house. Mr. and Mrs. Baines were both absent, at an exhibition of automata (Maillardet's) at the Music-hall (on an evening when the profits were given to the widows and children of the sailors who had fallen at Trafalgar): but at home there were four little things, of no importance to any body else in the world, but worth more than all the world to father and mother—two boys and two girls, in short, left in the charge of servants, though not without a relation in the house. A messenger shouted at the door of the crowded Music-hall, 'Mr. Baines's house is on fire!' and then vanished. The father rushed out without hat, and saw nothing till he arrived before the blazing pile. The poor mother followed, in distracting ignorance whether her children were saved or burnt. Sometimes she ran swiftly, and then stopped, not daring to advance nearer the knowledge of what might be so dreadful. Yet in the end she, too, arrived among the crowd who surrounded the house, watching the progress of the flames. The servants were not to be seen; and the lookers-on did not know what had become of the children. At length father and mother met: they were told that the children had been taken to different houses: and after an agonizing search the two boys were found at the house of Mr. Pease, on one side of the Square, one of the girls at that of Mrs. Rimington, on the other side of the Square, and the other girl at that of Dr. Carr, in Park-place. They had all escaped in their night-clothes. How far the thankfulness surpassed the lamentation, as soon as the safety of the 'treasures' was ascertained, parents alone can estimate. As Mr. Baines was not insured, he lost his furniture, which taught him a lesson for life."—Pp. 59, 60.

As a politician, Mr. Baines first came out in his strength in the year 1807, when the heart of all Yorkshire* was stirred by the great contest carried on between the houses of Wentworth and Harewood, as

* Every generation of students at Manchester College, York, subsequent to the year 1807, listened with interest to traditions of this election contest, and of not unimportant services rendered to Lord Milton's cause by the students of that year, and especially by one gentleman, since of the first eminence in the Unitarian pulpit.

the representatives respectively of popular and aristocratic principles of government. He softened, however, the asperities of an election contest by his candour and manly forbearance. It would carry us through the history of the larger portion of the half century if we were to attempt to follow the biographer in his record of his father's opinions. We may say generally, that he was a stanch but prudent advocate of every required political reform, that he was a consistent friend of religious liberty, and that he promoted zealously the cause of popular education. In critical emergencies he shewed quickness of perception and great courage. He rebuked and kept in check, when necessary, the imprudence of unskilful and intemperate popular leaders; and when he saw that the ignorant and suffering masses of the people were falling into the hands of designing and dishonest men,—ready to lead them into violations of law and order, and then to profit by betraying them to the Government whom they had defied,—he cheerfully undertook the no slight risk of exposing their corruption and wickedness.

The *Leeds Mercury* enjoyed under Mr. Baines's editorship an uninterrupted career of progressive success. Like the *Manchester Guardian*, under the guidance of its able and excellent founder, Mr. John Edward Taylor, it not only became the great organ of the Liberal party in its own district, but the acknowledged authority therein in its statement of facts, and its circulation in the end was extended to many parts of the kingdom. Mr. Baines was remarkably methodical and industrious: hence his editorial duties did not exhaust his time and powers. He devoted much time to the topography and history of the two counties of York and Lancaster. His work entitled the "History of the County Palatine of Lancaster," though not entitled to be ranked with antiquarian works of the first class, is a very respectable publication, and is still rising in public estimation.

He devoted also a portion of his time and fortune to agricultural studies and experiments, and attempted to reclaim a large extent of boggy land on Chat Moss, now so well known to railway travellers, between Manchester and Liverpool. So far as changing portions of a dreary waste into fertile fields, he was successful; but the success was bought at a high price, and his fortunes diminished rather than increased by the adventure.

The position of a newspaper editor in the provinces is in one respect very different from that occupied by a London editor. The latter is often personally shrouded from the public eye. His writings may day by day exercise great influence over the opinions and public conduct of his fellow-citizens, but he is not seen to descend from his editorial chair and walk a citizen amongst citizens, and take a personal share in their doings and struggles. In the provincial city or borough it is different. Every leading article is read as the opinion of a neighbour and fellow-townsman. He acquires, by ability and consistency, a large amount of personal and local influence. His opinions and counsel are sought by his neighbours on every public emergency. He mingles the functions of the statesman and the historian. When in addition to literary talents he possesses those which are required in the transaction of public business, and especially when he can instruct and persuade by his tongue as well as his pen, he is often forced to become the leader and champion of his party. Mr. Baines had from an early period of

his life cultivated public speaking, and always commanded attention when he rose to address an audience. His elocution was simple and perfectly unembarrassed. Good sense, good temper, and a large acquaintance with political topics, always distinguished his speeches, whether he had enjoyed opportunities for premeditation or was unexpectedly called up. Those who had watched Mr. Baines's independent and useful career of thirty years in the town of Leeds, were by no means surprised that on the retirement of Mr. Macaulay, in 1833, on his accepting a seat in the Council of the Governor-General of India, the electors of Leeds selected their townsman of the *Mercury* as his successor. The election was, indeed, stoutly contested; and the seat was, after a severe struggle of two days, won for the Liberal party by Mr. Baines by the slender majority of 34 votes.

Mr. Baines's Parliamentary career does not require any special notice. He entered Parliament too late in life to become a leader in its important discussions. He was very assiduous in his attention to Parliamentary business, and gave general satisfaction to his constituents. He gave a general, but not an unvarying, support to the Whig Ministers. The following expression of his desire to avoid ostentation or any visible change of style consequent on his election, is characteristic of his natural good sense. It is addressed to a member of his family.

"I should be sorry to affect anything in my new and highly honourable situation to us all as a Member of Parliament; but if I had any affectation in my altered circumstances, it should be an affectation of economy and simplicity of manners and appearance both in our domestic concerns and in all others. The contrary conduct has been fatal to the character and independence of many public men, but, by the blessing of God guiding and directing me, it shall never be fatal to me or mine."—P. 193.

Mr. Baines's residence in London brought him into intimate relations with the orthodox Dissenters, and especially with the late estimable Dr. Pye Smith, with whom he passed many of his Sundays. We shall not hesitate to express our conviction that these intimacies somewhat injured and narrowed the catholicity of his mind, and slightly diminished his usefulness to the Liberal party generally. The occasions were not numerous on which the strength of his bias to his religious party was seen to be stronger than to his political associates; but they did occur. But we must not forget that on one trying occasion Mr. Baines gave a proof of the liberality of his sentiments which displeased some of his religious associates. It was after he had quitted Parliament; but in the pages of the *Leeds Mercury* he rendered no unimportant service to the cause of religious liberty (especially by curbing fanaticism in Yorkshire), by supporting, in 1844, the Dissenters' Chapels Bill.

"When the Dissenters' Chapels Bill was before Parliament, in 1844, Mr. Baines thought it his duty to support the measure, in opposition to the pretty general opinion of the evangelical Dissenters, as well as of the evangelical Church and the Wesleyans. He conceived it to rest on an important principle of equity and wisdom, namely, that which prevented the holders of property from being disturbed after a certain length of undisputed possession. Without such a measure numerous Unitarian congregations, who had received their chapels from their ancestors, would have been liable to ejectment, after exasperating and costly litigation, because a former generation, by whom the chapels were built, held orthodox sentiments. This effect would have been attended with a sense of wrong and persecution on the part of the Unitarians,

without any advantage to the orthodox parties into whose hands the chapels might have come, but who were already supplied with places of worship. Such consequences were greatly to be deprecated; and therefore Parliament, by overwhelming majorities, passed a bill which prevented congregations from being ejected on the ground of change of doctrine, after they had held undisputed possession for twenty-five years, unless where there was a deed of trust, and the doctrines preached were at variance with those expressly stated in the deed. Mr. Baines's opinion on this question had no small influence; and it was quoted by Lord Brougham in the House of Lords, in complimentary terms, as entitled to great weight."—P. 319.

In 1841, Mr. Baines had, in consequence of declining health, retired from public life, after sitting as the representative of Leeds in three successive Parliaments. His constituents marked their grateful sense of his public services by presenting him a service of silver plate, with an inscription recognizing not merely his Parliamentary labours, but his advocacy of the principles of civil and religious liberty during a public life of more than forty years.

The changes that took place in Mr. Baines's religious views, and his increasing attachment to what are called Evangelical principles, are naturally dwelt upon with some fondness by his filial biographer, who is well known to sympathize with the opinions entertained by his father during his latter years. We feel no disposition to make the statement the occasion of any controversial discussion. That Mr. Baines was perfectly sincere in his religious profession, we have no doubt: that his character was one that would adorn any religious profession, we fully admit. But the substantial virtues of the Christian—benevolence, justice, sobriety and the love of truth—were shewn long before the period of his "conversion."

A comparison has been drawn more than once between Mr. Baines and Dr. Franklin. These are the words of his son:

"From his boyhood, as his companions at Preston state, he had formed an ambition to follow the example of the great American printer and patriot, Benjamin Franklin. The fact of Dr. Franklin's having visited Preston, and married a lady of that town, brought the example more immediately before him. There were so many points of resemblance in the mental character and history of the two men, that Mr. Baines has been called, not without reason, 'the Franklin of Leeds.' They corresponded in sterling sense, in calm and cheerful temper, in indefatigable diligence, in abstemious habits, in early rising, in enterprising spirit, in a certain degree of original thought, in pithy and practical writing, in strict frugality, in the character of their fathers, in their removal from home, in successful attention to business, in love of freedom, in the public influence they acquired, and in the fact that they became members of the legislatures of their respective countries. As the life of Franklin helped to form the character of Baines, perhaps the example of the latter, through these pages, may serve as a model to young and virtuous readers."—P. 27.

It will not be supposed, after the remarks already made, and our numerous extracts, that we have any desire to depreciate the character of Edward Baines; but, estimable as he was, we cannot concede to him the intellectual rank of a Franklin. He himself made no pretensions to originality; and it can scarcely be alleged with truth that Baines, like Franklin, rose the higher the more he was tasked, and that the closing years of his life proved those of his greatest distinction.

EDUCATION IN IRELAND.*

At length there seems hope for Ireland. Famine, disease and emigration, have done their dismal, but necessary, work; a population, large beyond all the available means of employment,—and for that reason idle and miserable, hopeless and turbulent,—has been diminished by about a million and a half since the census of 1841. A proprietary body,—poor, proud, reckless,—incapable of fulfilling the duties of property, but extreme in exacting its rights,—is, under the action of the Encumbered Estates Court, rapidly giving place to men who have the means, as we trust they will shew a disposition, to promote the industry and happiness of their tenantry, by judicious and well-considered measures for their improvement. And, most important of all, education is making rapid progress. The means of intellectual and moral culture in youth are brought, by the beneficent Acts of the imperial Legislature, home to the cabin of the labourer, as to the mansion of the rich man, and we cannot doubt that, under the good providence of God, most important results will follow from their employment. We shall give, in the briefest possible space, a summary of the most useful statistics which we find in the works enumerated below.

First in order, as in importance, comes the Report of the Commissioners of National Education. After a careful study of its contents (which, including the Appendix, are exceedingly voluminous), we feel bound to congratulate the country in which so comprehensive and efficient an agency is put in force for disseminating the blessings of intellectual, moral and religious education.

The leading outlines of this system are well known to all who have made the education of the people their study: for the benefit of others, we may here briefly recapitulate them. The schools are divided into two classes,—those vested in the Commissioners, as sole or joint founders, and those of local foundation. In the first class, the Rules of the Board are absolute and permanent; and, in accordance with those Rules, all religious systems are treated with perfect equality. The education given in the ordinary hours of school teaching is intellectual, moral and religious, but not such as to interfere with the peculiar tenets of any class of Christians which sends children to the school. *Separate* religious instruction is given, at distinct hours, to children of the different communions, in the catechisms and peculiar doctrines of their respective creeds; and *all* clergymen, of every church and denomination, are invited to attend the schools for the purpose of superintending or personally administering such instruction to children of their own connection. The schools of the second class, being built without aid from the Board, are vested in their founders or local patrons

* Seventeenth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (for the Year 1850): with Appendices: presented to both Houses of Parliament, by command of Her Majesty.

Reports of the Presidents of the Queen's Colleges, Belfast, Cork and Galway, for the Session 1850-51: presented to both Houses of Parliament, by command of Her Majesty.

Minutes of the Seventh Meeting of the Association of Irish Non-subscribing Presbyterians, for the Year 1851.

respectively, or in trustees by them appointed. The aid given to these schools by the Commissioners is granted from year to year, and may at any time be withdrawn, if sufficient cause appear. In these schools, so long as they continue in connection with the Board, it is required that no book be used of which the Commissioners disapprove, and that the Rules for inspection, &c. shall be observed. With respect to religious instruction, it is conceded that *no doctrinal teaching shall be introduced, of which the local patrons and founders disapprove;* but it is at the same time stipulated, that *no child shall be excluded from the intellectual and moral teaching afforded in the school*, on the ground of his own or his parents' opinions; and that *no child* attending the school for the purpose of moral and intellectual education *shall be required to attend upon the special religious instruction*, if his parents or guardians object to his so doing. The measure of success which has attended this system must afford matter of interesting reflection to the advocates of the different systems of education which have been proposed for England, and indeed to all who are desirous of promoting the spread of knowledge.

The Irish National System was first carried into operation in the year 1832, and it was by its friends regarded as great cause for congratulation that on the 31st of December, 1833, it numbered 789 schools and 107,042 pupils. On the 31st of December, 1840, however, there were 1978 schools and 232,560 pupils; and it appears from this Report, that on the 31st of December, 1850, there were 4547 schools, numbering 511,239 pupils. Thus in ten years the schools and pupils have considerably more than doubled, while during the same period the population has decreased by more than one-sixth part of its former amount. Taking the present population of Ireland at 6,500,000, we find about one in twelve of the whole in attendance upon the National Schools; and if we add to these the children at schools in connection with the Church Education and other Societies, or carried on by private teachers on their own account, and the children who are under instruction in their parents' homes, it is probable that from one-tenth to one-ninth of the entire population of Ireland is at present receiving elementary instruction. The exact proportion cannot be known till the Irish population returns are published. Nevertheless, the point already reached is highly satisfactory; and we quite concur with the Commissioners that the time is come when their attention ought rather to be directed to the *improvement* than to the *extension* of their system.

Their system may be said to embrace three principal objects: 1st, the publication and diffusion of good text-books, maps and other requisites for instruction. In this department of their labours, the Commissioners have been eminently successful. No series of school books with which we are acquainted can be compared with theirs, taking into account the two elements of goodness and cheapness. The latter is of great consequence in a country so poor as Ireland. It appears, from data furnished by this Report, that the sums paid for books by the children frequenting the National Schools in some of the wealthiest counties of the wealthiest province, do not average more than $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ per annum for each; even at this low rate, complaints, as we can testify, are made of the inability of parents to purchase. The publications of the Board are supplied to National Schools at about *one-fourth* of the

price at which the same works are procurable by the public at large; yet even at the advanced rate their merit has enabled them to command a great and increasing sale in England and the Colonies, of which we are sorry to perceive that two most respectable publishing firms have thought it proper and becoming to complain.

The next great object of the system is the training of teachers for the National Schools, and this department also seems to be conducted upon a good principle. Paid monitors, who may be regarded as incipient teachers, are employed in very many of the schools; pupil teachers, candidate teachers and assistant teachers, male and female, are to be found in not a few; and of course in each school, male, female or mixed, there is at least one principal teacher. Any of these may, under certain regulations, have the advantage of three or six months' training in the district Model Schools, or in the great Training establishments, founded by the Board in Dublin, and carried on under the personal superintendance of the resident Commissioner and the Secretaries. Of these institutions, every person who has visited them,—not excepting some who came with feelings most averse to the National system,—has spoken in terms of praise, often high, sometimes almost unqualified.

The third great branch of the duties of the Board consists in the inspection of the schools by an organized band of Head Inspectors, District Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors, whose duty is to examine and report from time to time upon the size, ventilation and commodiousness of each building in which a National School is held; the quantity and condition of the school furniture and requisites; the organization and discipline of the school; the method of teaching pursued in it; the attendance, cleanliness and good order of the children; the efficiency of the teachers; their success in communicating instruction in every department of knowledge taught in the school; the observance of the Rules of the Board; and generally upon every point relating to the prosperity and usefulness of the establishment. Periodical meetings of the teachers in the various districts are also held, at which they are examined upon the text-books issued by the Board; and, according to the Reports of the Inspectors attending these meetings, as well as of those who have visited the different schools, gratuities are awarded to the teachers who appear to deserve them, meritorious teachers are promoted to a higher class and a higher salary, and negligent ones are removed to a lower rank and pay. In case of utter inefficiency, the Board exercises the right of withholding the salary altogether; or, if remedy be refused, of striking the school entirely off their books.—We agree with the Commissioners that the number of Inspectors at present in their employment,—one to every 124 schools,—is too small to do the work efficiently, and that a considerable augmentation of this part of their staff is most desirable. The Reports of their Head Inspectors, all of which are given *in extenso*, are highly valuable documents, and, circulated as they will be among the teachers of the National Schools in Ireland, they must do much good.—The schools under the direction of the Board may be divided into the following classes: 1, the Head Model or Normal Schools (Male, Female and Infant) in Dublin, in connection with which are the Male and Female Teachers' Training Establishments; 2, District Model Schools, intended to effect the same objects in some degree, for the advantage of pupil teachers and candi-

date teachers who may not be enabled to visit the metropolis; 3, Ordinary Schools for primary and advanced instruction; 4, the Model Agricultural School and Agricultural Training Establishment at Glasnevin, near Dublin; 5, District Model Agricultural Schools, of which there are at present 17; 6, District Agricultural Schools, of which there are 37; 7, Union Workhouse Schools (124) and Gaol Schools, connected with the Board, in most of which agricultural and industrial instruction is given; 8, Industrial Schools, chiefly for girls, in which they are taught the most useful and profitable kinds of female industry, in addition to ordinary school instruction. There is one Piscatory School at Claddagh, near Galway; and it is proposed to add a number of Marine Schools in the principal sea-ports, in which not merely navigation, but practical seamanship, shall be taught. The Reports of the Inspectors give valuable details upon each of these classes of schools. These gentlemen are perfectly aware of the imperfections with which the system is yet attended; many of the schools are far from answering the end they were intended to promote; their defects are in all cases fairly stated, while the merits of the more deserving are liberally commended, as they ought to be. We are happy to perceive that the Board is gradually endeavouring to overcome one main obstacle to improvement,—the low amount of salary hitherto allotted to the teachers, which throws the occupation chiefly into the hands of the incompetent. There is another evil, which it will require perhaps years to remedy,—the irregular attendance of the children. In the valuable Report of Mr. M'Creedy, one of the Head Inspectors, it is stated that the average age at which children enter the National Schools visited by him is $5\frac{1}{2}$ years; the average period during which they remain at school is 38 months,* a little more than three years; the average age at which they leave off is $12\frac{1}{2}$ years; but of 4143 pupils, of which number the schools on which he reports consisted, the average attendance was only 2383, *little more than one-half*,—practically reducing the school-frequenting period of life to something under two years on the average. The value of time is a lesson which the National Schools are rapidly teaching to the children, but which many of their parents, it is to be feared, never will learn; and till a race of parents shall arise who understand both the value of time and the value of education, neither the National system nor any other can realize all the benefits which it would otherwise confer.

The branches of learning taught vary according to the specific object of each school, the requirements of the locality in which it is situated, and the capacity of the teacher,—from the simplest elements, such as are taught in Infant Schools, up to some of the most abstruse sciences of which a knowledge is attainable through the English language. Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, are universally taught; Geography and History almost universally; Grammar pretty generally; and in schools of the higher order, Mensuration, Book-keeping, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Morganic and Organic Chemistry, Zoology, Vege-

* To this average (which is taken from Class-rolls and Returns), it is only fair to add something on account of removals and renewed admissions. A child taken from one National School and placed in another, will be counted as a *pupil discontinued* in the first and a *new pupil* in the other, and so reduce the average. The same is the case with a child which has been absent thirteen weeks from any National School; on its return, it is entered as a *new pupil*.

table and Animal Physiology, Natural Philosophy, Literary History, Music, Scripture History, the Christian Evidences, the Elements of Logic, and Political Economy. Of course it is not implied that all these branches are taught in any one school (excepting, however, the Normal Schools in Dublin); but still the number of schools in which the higher branches are taught is very considerable, and is increasing every year. In the Female Schools generally, the children are taught to knit and sew, and to perform household work; and in the Agricultural Schools,—to each of which a piece of land is attached,—farming operations are practically exemplified, while at the same time the *principles* on which they depend are scientifically explained.

In a system so extensive, and approaching in so many points to the delicate and sensitive limits of religious doctrine, it is not less necessary as matter of policy than it is clearly matter of honour and duty, to guard against the possibility of the schools under the National Board being perverted into an agency for proselytism to or from any faith. On this vital subject the Regulations of the Commissioners seem to be highly judicious. They appear to have been faithfully carried into effect by the teachers and local patrons of the different schools, and to have fully secured the end in view. In their Report for 1849, the Commissioners state that, "so far as they are aware, no case has ever yet occurred in which proselytism has taken place, either on the Roman Catholic or Protestant side, in any National School." In Mr. M'Creedy's Report, in the Appendix to the volume for 1850, we find the following paragraph:

"Religious instruction is given in all the schools I have visited (42); generally the whole of Saturday is devoted to this important subject, and either the first or the last school-hour of each of the five remaining week-days. Sometimes that which is given is confined exclusively to what is in harmony with the doctrinal views of the local managers and the majority of the parents, and the children of other Christian denominations then withdraw at the hours appointed, to receive teaching in accordance with their respective churches elsewhere: and occasionally the use of the school-room for the purpose of communicating religious education is granted equally to each of the leading denominations, the Protestant [i. e. the Established Church], the Presbyterian and the Roman Catholic. In almost all the schools I visited, if indeed I should not rather say all, there were to be found children of all the three denominations I have mentioned, apparently living in the utmost harmony with each other, and from whose parents or guardians I never heard any complaint of interference in the matter of religion. Such interference I believe to be altogether alien to the habits of our teachers: and I may perhaps be allowed here to state, which I do with confidence, that in the thirteen years I have acted as Inspector in the service of the Board, no case of an attempt to proselytize ever came before me as connected with any school with whose inspection I was intrusted."

Similar statements are to be found in the Reports of almost all the Head Inspectors.

Seeing, then, that these schools practically observe a strict neutrality between adverse churches, it may be asked, Would it not be wise to exclude religious instruction altogether,—or at least special instruction in the disputed doctrines held by the several denominations of Christians? The answer to this question may be found in the Returns to an Order of the House of Commons, printed in the Report now before

us,—shewing the number of clerical and lay patrons or correspondents of National Schools, and the number of the former belonging to the different churches respectively. From this table it appears that, of the total number of 4705 schools, 3418 are exclusively under the management of clerical patrons and correspondents, and 163 under lay and clerical auspices conjointly. It is most probable that some of these schools would never have been opened at all, and quite certain that not one of them would ever have been placed in connection with the National system, if special religious instruction had been excluded. As to the 1124 schools whose patrons or correspondents are laymen, it is very difficult to speak with certainty. But we took the list of correspondents for a particular county, with which we happen to be best acquainted; and after collecting the best information within our reach, respecting the sentiments of the lay patrons whose names appear in the Appendix, we feel ourselves warranted in affirming that *five* out of every *eight* would refuse to be in any way connected with a system of education from which special religious instruction should be excluded; nor do we doubt that the vast majority of the remaining three-eighths are perfectly accordant with the other five-eighths on this important question, although we have not been able to ascertain their sentiments. In fact, in Ireland at least, *it is the religious feeling which prompts a desire to educate the people;* and any system which outraged or even overlooked that feeling,—not merely in its essential characteristics, but in its sectional manifestations,—could not enlist any local influence in its support, and would certainly fail as a national institution.

The Commissioners have not adverted to the hostility to this, and indeed to every other Parliamentary institution, which has recently been displayed by a large proportion of the Roman Catholic clergy. The importance of any general defection on the part of the priesthood will be learned from the fact, that not less than 2778 of the patrons and correspondents of schools in connection with the Board are Roman Catholic clergymen. If they are by any cause induced to relinquish the support of the National Schools, a great defection both of teachers and pupils would be the result, and the system would be crippled in its beneficent operations. The Ecclesiastical Titles Act may, for a time, produce consequences which every friend of education would regret.

(To be continued.)

BISHOPS BAD POLITICAL COBBLERS.

It seems as if the statesman and the bishop were at all times, at least in our country, incompatible characters. Much as I regard most of those I know, for some amiable character or other, and a few of them for many truly valuable ones, I must ever deprecate their playing the politician: for their nervousness about their own order, their frequently entire ignorance of the world, their whole habitudes both previous and present, make them of all political cobblers the most inexpert, the most perplexing and the most pernicious.—*Alexander Knox to Lord Castlereagh, in* 1801.

MR. MARTINEAU S SERMON.*

Our readers will have learnt from other sources of information that the sermon reported by Dr. Vaughan in the last No. of the *British Quarterly Review* is a version of a discourse preached by Mr. Martineau. The preacher feels aggrieved by the reviewer's statements, and in self-defence publishes the sermon, the title of which we give below. As we have given currency to the reviewer's report (C. R. VII. 563), we are bound in simple justice to give the preacher's disclaimer, and to attempt a dispassionate description of the sermon. In the Preface, Mr. Martineau, after quoting Dr. Vaughan's sketch of the sermon, proceeds thus:

"When this passage was pointed out to me, two circumstances enabled me to identify the sermon described in it with one which I had preached on the 15th of June last. 1st. The conjunction of the names of Hildebrand and Swedenborg gave a specific mark which could scarcely be misconstrued. 2nd. It had been stated to me that Dr. Vaughan, the editor of the British Quarterly, was among my hearers on the 15th of June. He may therefore be presumed to be my reporter on the 1st of August. He assures his readers that his sketch is 'no picture of the imagination.' Whether it conforms to the conditions of scrupulous and faithful representation may be decided by any one whom curiosity or a sense of justice may impel to consult the following pages. The sermon is here presented precisely as it was preached, without even the correction of those verbal *incuriæ* which, however venial in speech, ought not, as a general rule, to be transferred to type. My readers are thus placed in the very same position which Dr. Vaughan occupied as a hearer; only I would hope that, with less of the excitement of injured prepossessions, they may better apprehend the scope and spirit of the discourse.

"It will be admitted that an author has a fair right to choose his own mode and time for presenting to the world what he desires to say. It is hard to have this right snatched out of one's hands by the angry impatience of polemical rumour. I must remind the reader that this is a compulsory publication; issued simply, by way of testimony, to rectify a mis-statement of fact, not as an argument or exposition, adequate to the maintenance of opinion. Addressed to those who hear me week by week, it formed but an element in the teaching of several years, and would be interpreted by many antecedent thoughts not present to the mind of a casual visitor. The qualifications and additions which would be proper in order to secure truth of impression to an external and unprepared audience, I am now precluded from introducing. It is perhaps too much to expect from theological eagerness that it should make allowance for this disadvantage. Be this as it may, I have no desire to shrink from my responsibilities as an expounder of divine truth: but, hiding nothing and pretending nothing, shall simply endeavour, through good or ill report, to have the answer of a clear conscience towards God."—Pref. pp. vi—viii.

A brief description of the sermon as now published, will enable such of our readers as have not yet seen it, to judge to what extent Dr. Vaughan has been guilty of "a mis-statement of fact."

The preacher takes as his text 2 Cor. iv. 7. He does not stop to explain the apostle's words, or his own translation of them, which departs from that of the Public Version by substituting *earthly* for

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* The God of Revelation his own Interpreter. A Sermon preached in Hope-Street Church, Liverpool, on Sunday Morning, June 15, 1851. By James Martineau. Pp. 22. London—Chapman.

*earthen.** The sermon opens with some remarks, expressed with great beauty,† on the frequent difference of results of men's acts from their purposes. The principle is applied to the history of Christianity. It should be judged, not by the personal views and purposes of its founders, but by their *unconscious spirit*, evolved in the matured character of religion in Christendom. Primitive Christianity was different from, but not better than, that of other ages. Great principles and expansive affections were indeed secreted in the hearts of the first disciples, but on these they rarely thought. Instead of dwelling on faith in God, repentance, and trust in immortality, the apostles dwelt in their Epistles on allegories about Isaac and Ishmael, parallels between Christ and Melchizedec, and anticipations of the speedy destruction of the world. These things are no more Christianity than the pretensions of Hildebrand or the visions of Swedenborg. The preacher goes on to illustrate his idea of the mistakes of primitive Christians by reference to the life of Christ, which he speaks of as the point of divinest brilliancy in the course of Providential affairs. The evangelists, he alleges, very inadequately perceived its moral perfectness and spiritual beauty. They turned away from the life of Christ to study its connection with prophecies of the Messiah, and to speculate on the future of Christianity; and they were equally wrong in their reading of the past and the augury of the future. The doctrine of the Messiahship of Christ the preacher declares to be "the fabric of a dream," and a great "Judaic error." The "haunting idea" of Jesus as the Messiah has, he alleges, deformed the evangelists' story and portraiture of Christ. They selected chiefly what agreed with this idea. The divine life of Christ, he contends, reaches us "only in refracted lights and through unintended openings." Under the influence of the Messianic theory, the disciples called Jesus their Lord, and themselves his slaves. They conceived of God as an absolute Sovereign, and the Messiah as the appointed Satrap. We of this age have nobler conceptions of God and Christ. Our faith, better than that even of Paul, is freed from *theocratic* prejudices, is a moral sentiment, an acknowledgment of Christ as the highest impersonation of divine excellence. The early Hebrew mistake has been taken up by all Unitarian churches in every age. The preacher concludes by stating that the "Gospel's centre of stability" is the agency of the mind of Christ as the image of God's moral nature and as the realized ideal of moral beauty.

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* The original word is not ἐπίγειοις, but ὀστρακίνοις. Slight as is the difference in sound, there is a wide difference in sense between *earthen* and *earthly*. The latter is, we submit, an unauthorized and unjustifiable translation of ὀστρακίνοις. Schleusner translates the word metaphorically, vile, tenue quod facile frangi et debilitari potest, multis calamitatibus et incommodis obnoxium. This is the meaning assigned to the word in this passage by the best commentators. One of the meanings given by the same author to ἐπιγειος is, *qui ab hominibus originem repetit*. In this sense the two words are clearly not synonymous. The vessels which conveyed revelation to man were frail, easily broken, utterly incapable of commanding success, proving that the excellence of the power of revelation was of God, not of man. The translation of the text is not unimportant, when considered in connection with the general scope of the sermon.

† From this praise we must, however, except the short passage in which the all-ruling hand of God is described as *endorsing drafts* upon the morrow (p. 9). The technical terms of the counting-house appear to us as much out of taste in the pulpit, as those of an attorney's office, or *slang* of any kind.

Dr. Vaughan's report is manifestly imperfect. It is, we think, not chargeable with *suggestio falsi*, but it is open to the imputation of *suppressio veri*. There are passages expressive of faith in Christ which ought to have found a place in the report of a man of high intelligence and familiar with theology. Having stated this, we feel it an important though painful duty to add, that we cannot see sufficient reason to withdraw the expression of our dissent from Mr. Martineau's views, as disclosed in this sermon. We do not forget his remonstrance against the injustice of judging a system by an incidental explanation of a small portion of it. If there be important qualifications of some views,—concealed from us, but well known to the regular attendants on his ministry,—we regret that no hint is given us of their nature and extent. We feel the force of his remark that he was, under the circumstances, precluded from altering the sermon itself. But there could, we think, have been no valid objection to his supplying notes containing the required explanations and qualifications.

Jeremy Bentham once published a now almost forgotten book, entitled, "Not Paul, but Jesus." The title of Mr. Martineau's sermon* might be, "Not Evangelists and Apostles, but Jesus." The tone in which the penmen of the New Testament are spoken of in this sermon, is harsh and revolting. We can scarcely conceive of the process of mind by which any man loving Christ, and valuing his religion as Mr. Martineau does, can have arrived at so depreciatory an estimate of the writers of the New Testament as is given in this sermon. There is, however, an immoveable fact in connection with the portraiture of Jesus given us by evangelists and apostles, which at once proves the injustice of Mr. Martineau's charge against them of distorting and colouring the incidents of the gospel history to suit a Judaic theory. All that Mr. Martineau or any man knows of Jesus Christ is derived from the New Testament. Amidst a thousand varieties of faith on other points, there is in the Christian world a tolerable identity of view as to the moral qualities of Jesus Christ. On this point there is perfect distinctness and uniformity in the portrait drawn by evangelists and apostles. If they had been guilty of the "artificial disguise" with which Mr. Martineau charges them,—if Christ were exhibited to us only "in refracted lights" and "through unintended openings,"—could the result have been so exquisitely beautiful a character as that recognized by all Christendom as the Saviour? We believe the evangelists to have been faithful human witnesses, recording what they saw and knew, but clothing their record—as every historian does—in the language of his age. As Unitarians have been arraigned at the bar of criticism for this sermon, our defence on this point shall be in the words of a distinguished American Unitarian:—"The men who braved everything and endured so much for their faith in the religion of Jesus, could not have felt any disposition themselves to corrupt the record which held up to them, and which they relied upon to transmit to

* The title actually given to the sermon, "The God of Revelation his own Interpreter," indicates a subject only remotely approached by the author. It is a subject of deep interest, which we should rejoice to see well discussed. We believe, with the poet Cowper,

God is his own interpreter,
And he will make it plain.

future ages, the knowledge of that religion. * * * Never was a more unvarnished tale delivered than that of the four evangelists. If ever there were marks of simple honesty impressed on any composition, there do they most conspicuously stand. *No one can imagine, as he reads, that the idea had ever entered their minds of dressing up the story which they had to tell,*" &c.

With not less pain do we read Mr. Martineau's description of the apostles' teaching. Allegories and mystical Jewish comparisons and analogies there unquestionably are in the Epistles to the early churches. If such things were not found in compositions of that age and by such writers, their absence would have pointed the finger of learned suspicion against the genuineness of the documents. But it is a strange exaggeration to hint that these Hebrew elements form the staple of apostolic teaching. In what page shall we find more animated appeals to conscience, more sublime morality,—comprehending every duty which man owes to God, to his neighbour and to himself,—than in the Epistles of Paul and John, James and Peter? Mr. Martineau quotes an obscure passage from the Epistle to the Hebrews (Heb. vi. 1, 2), to prove that the apostles spoke slightingly—as mere food for babes—of those great doctrines which constitute the permanent essence of Christian faith. The verses contain some things *hard to be understood,*—which another apostle, in the same age, complained of as liable to be wrested to improper uses. But the apostle (if Paul were the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews) must be vindicated against his own supposed or imputed meaning by a reference to the general scope of his writings, which are imbued with moral and ethical truth. In another passage of his sermon, Mr. Martineau departs from his usual indifference to mere textual arguments, by dwelling on the word δοῦλοι, as descriptive of the allegiance paid by the first disciples to Christ. It ought not to be necessary to remind the author of the beautiful discourse on "The Free-Man of Christ;"* that *he that is called in the Lord, being a servant* (δοῦλος), *is the Lord's Free-man* (1 Cor. vii. 22).

The objection which Mr. Martineau states to the Messianic theory is, to those who are versed in the Deistical controversy of the last century, not a novelty. That objection was advanced with great learning and acuteness by Anthony Collins, in his discourse on the "Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion." Collins's argument was, that if Jesus were not the Messiah predicted in the Old Testament, then his claim to be such proved him to be in no sense a supernatural divine messenger. Mr. Martineau adopts only a part of the argument—that which relates to the disciples. But Mr. Collins was the more consistent, for Jesus asserted his claim to be the Messiah as distinctly as did his disciples for him. If the claim were false, Jesus is involved in the consequences of the error no less than they are.† If, however, it is alleged that the claim was not put forth by Jesus himself, but was without due warrant ascribed to him by the evangelists, then no common ground is left between us and the objector, for he refuses to receive the only witnesses we have to adduce as to the life and teaching of Jesus.

* See Endeavours after the Christian Life, II. 157.

† For an admirable discussion of this subject, we would refer our readers to Palfrey's Lowell Lectures, II. 212.

In one respect, we are bound to acknowledge Mr. Martineau's candour. In speaking of this Messianic theory, which he regards as the great corruption of the gospel, he twice separates himself from the common Unitarian opinion. This his reporter and reviewer in the British Quarterly chose to forget, when he made Mr. Martineau's sermon a weapon of assault against the Unitarian denomination.

It was one of the objects of Mr. Locke in composing his masterly treatise on "The Reasonableness of the Christian Religion," to explain the doctrine of Christ's Messiahship. By reasonings which have never been confuted, and by scriptures of unmistakeable clearness, that great philosopher has proved that it is the primary article of Christianity that Jesus is the Messiah; that this title is synonymous with "Son of God;" that it was affirmed not only by Christ's direct words, but confirmed by miracles. There, also, explanations are given of the reasons which for a time induced our Lord to conceal his Messiahship. With these explanations Mr. Martineau does not concern himself; but curtly states the fact as a decisive proof that Jesus did not proclaim himself as the Messiah. Of his distinct assertion to the woman of Samaria (John ii. 26) of his being the Messiah, Mr. Martineau takes no notice. We close these somewhat brief remarks with a short extract from Mr. Locke's Second Vindication of the Reasonableness of Christianity, in which he re-asserts against an objector, and sums up, the doctrine of the New Testament in reference to the Messiah:

"Our Saviour preached every where the kingdom of God, and by his miracles declared himself to be the King of that kingdom. The apostles preached the same, and after his ascension openly avowed him to be the Prince and Saviour promised: but preached not this as a bare speculative article of simple belief, but that men might receive him as their King and become his subjects. When they told the world that he was the Christ, * * * it was, Believe this man to be your King sent from God. Take him for such, with a resolution to observe the laws he has given you, and you are his subjects—you are Christians."—*Locke's Works* (folio), II. 619.

SUGGESTIONS OF PRACTICAL REFORMS AMONG UNITARIANS.

Sir,

Much has been written and said on the difficulty of spreading our pure faith among our orthodox brethren. "They are bigoted; they speak evil of us falsely; they will not even give us a hearing." This is true—all true. We feel the evil, and we deplore it; but it is one we cannot reach, for it is external. Nay, we fear we have not placed ourselves on the vantage ground which would give us the highest claim to a hearing, as men whose devoted and holy lives bear testimony "that we have been with Jesus." Are we not too self-satisfied with being, as a sect, upright and enlightened, forgetting that religion is something more than doctrinal truth; that it is essentially, if it is anything but a name, that which binds the entire devotion of the spirit to the Great Eternal Spirit who created it for immortality—for Himself; and that "to walk humbly before our God," and to cultivate those religious desires which would make His worship in His temples and in the secret recesses of our hearts our chief delight, is also required of us. We think that if we were first a *holy* people, we should almost necessarily be a *zealous* people. But it has become our rooted habit to dwell rather on other causes for our small

progress among Christian sects, than on those which we ourselves could remove. Thus it has been urged and echoed and re-echoed to very weariness, that because we do not believe that eternal salvation depends upon a man's creed, we have not the same motives as our Trinitarian brethren to exert ourselves for the extension of that which we believe to be "the truth as it is in Jesus." Granted, that we have not the *same* motives; yet if we claim to be the followers of Him whose *blood* was shed to seal the truths he taught—truths which were "for the healing of the nations," for the salvation of the world—can we dare to say that we have not *sufficient* motives to urge us on in at least equally zealous employment of every talent which has been committed to our charge in so noble a service? Can we dare selfishly to enjoy that which is light and peace to our own breasts, while degrading views of our Heavenly Father, and the slavery of an erroneous creed, are rife around us? We may not believe that *others* shall suffer eternal perdition because the lamp of truth has never enlightened their darkness; but we do, we must believe that our *own* salvation will depend on our *own* fulfilment of our high responsibilities; on our so loving our God, that we shall desire that all His children know Him more perfectly; on so loving men, that we shall be willing to spend and be spent, that we may share with them our heavenly treasure. If we are right in our position, that every principle of love to our Heavenly Father and to our brother man demands that we should employ all our efforts that God may be known as He has condescended to reveal Himself, and that our own eternal reward depends on the fulfilment of this primary duty, we see not how any supineness, any lack of zeal, can be excused in us, because we reject the theory that the flames of an eternal hell are prepared for the unconscious wanderers in the darkness of error.

But it may be justly asked, What *can* we do—we mean now externally, and independently of the attractive power and influence of a holy life—to spread the truths of God? We answer, With no stinted measure "cast the bread upon the waters, though it should not return to you until after many days." If you can do but little, do at least what you can. Seize gladly, earnestly, on every opportunity of doing good. *Reverse* that which is now, we fear, the disgraceful characteristic of our sect, and grudge not, whatever else you grudge, the funds which are necessary for the objects of religion. Let these be allowed as a means of spiritual growth—a first claim upon you, conjointly with your daily bread. It is, indeed, bitterness and wormwood to the earnest Christian to see that those who have wealth for the gratification of every comfort, not to say luxury,—who, with their families, "wear their purple and fine linen every day," suffer the ministrations of their own places of worship to be cramped with poverty; or, if expenses for needful repairs are to be met, even deduct from the smallest of all incomes, that of the pastor, already confessedly the smallest on which a gentleman can subsist, to make up the requisite sum. Then, too, there are our infant churches, with the paltry diminutive gifts of the wealthy on their subscription lists, or the yet more discouraging, shirking plea of those who *wish* for a plea for refusal, that "possibly the effort may not succeed." Such men would never have sown the gospel seed in Jerusalem, nor would they have "filled up the measure of the sufferings of Christ" when all earthly power seemed leagued against them.

Is it, then, that we have no liberal spirits among us? Assuredly we have. But, strangely as it may sound, we, who have stood apart from all other sects in doctrine, do yet want men of sufficiently independent minds to stand singly in their own, and give, untrammelled by what others do or leave undone, from the impulse of their own generous hearts. Not long would they stand alone, maintaining their honourable distinction, for shame and the conviction of past wrong would draw on the many to "do likewise;" and then—for we have wealth sufficient, would we but give as other churches give, and as our pure faith claims at our hands—we should no longer be depressed for lack of that which money could obtain, nor our ministers—to our shame be it spoken—

be so undesirably characterized as "poor." These latter evils of which we speak are self-evident, and need but the determined will to be speedily amended. We think, too, that their amendment would do much to lessen other contingent evils amongst us, and to promote other reforms which are needful ere we can hope that the glory of Jehovah shall fill our tabernacles.

VERITAS.

CRIME *versus* EDUCATION.

SIR,

IN your present month's Reformer you give us, at p. 570, a paper on Criminal Statistics; and out of 3000 children taken into custody at Birmingham during the last year, only 179 could read and write well, and but 29 had received a superior education; and you come to the conclusion that this alone "is sufficient to shew that ignorance breeds crime, and that our criminals are from the uneducated class." Further on you say, that "experience tells us that in the middle classes very rarely indeed does a person become a criminal, or commit any serious offence against the laws, who has had the benefit of anything that deserves the name of an education." In these statements the idea is presented to us,—an idea very prevalent in the present day,—that education and morality are so closely connected, that if the first be improved and extended, the latter will the more prevail. Hence Sunday-schools and other schools are eulogized as the great panacea for prevailing immorality. This connection of education and morality I confess I cannot perceive; and Mr. Ryland, in a letter in a late *Inquirer*, mentions that of 9000 juvenile prisoners, 6000, that is two-thirds of them, had been at Sunday-schools, and a few had been teachers. I am a decided friend to education, in order that every man may have the opportunity of turning his talents to the best account for his family and for society, and because, as you say very truly, that "ignorance condemns a man to the lowest kind of labour, or, depriving him of the means of gaining an honest living, makes him first idle, and then dishonest." Ignorance, especially where labouring population is in excess, is thus adjutory to crime, because if any are to go unemployed, it will be the ignorant, as persons will of course rather employ the better-informed; and hence there is no wonder that those who cannot read or write compose a large proportion of our criminals. But, not to say that I have known many very excellent servants who could neither read nor write, and that the statement made by Mr. Ryland shews that the beneficial effect of education is but trifling, those who are educated may, as you state, not be "criminals against the laws," but does their education prevent them from being *immoral?*— and immorality is immorality, whether the law lays hold of it, or whether it takes no notice of it and fashion palliates it. That the middle class of society should be more sober and honest than either the extreme upper or extreme lower, may be accounted for from those who compose it having fewer scenes to excite their passions than the former, and more to employ their minds than the latter have. From the circumstances in which these persons are placed, they are more habitually regular; but that they have really a higher-toned morality, it would, I think, be very difficult to prove. Mr. Ryland seems to think that he has grounds for attributing to drunkenness the crimes for which the greater part of the 9000 above mentioned are incarcerated, and he very earnestly and with great propriety recommends the abstinence system, and its adoption may be well. But how have these young offenders become drunkards? Must it not have been from evil example at home or from their elders? If so, let it be remembered that their parents must, at least in many cases, have had the benefit of the Lancasterian or Bell's Schools, which have been in operation for full forty years. In these the Scriptures are taught, yet they seem to have failed in

elevating pauper morality; then why are we to suppose that education, though extended, will be more successful? These remarks do not arise from any hostility to education, or even from any indifference to it; but I cannot but fear that in our eager pursuit of education as the corrector of criminality, we complacently pass over many usages which, more than mere ignorance, vitiate the social body.

Still, though I do not contemplate the splendid results from popular education which more sanguine minds entertain, I should be glad to see a good system of education arranged throughout the length and breadth of our land, that the people may have any benefits, be they more or less, that it would be calculated to afford. But I feel strongly that such a plan must *not* be left dependent on *voluntary* support. I come to this conclusion from what I have seen of the working of the Lancasterian Schools. They, about forty years ago, were established on the voluntary principle; they were supported by subscriptions, and intended for the children of those who could not afford a weekly pittance for instruction. This lasted a few years, but now many of these schools are paid schools. This change arose first, because it was found that the voluntary subscriptions, after the first excitement, failed; and it was also found that the parents whose children were paid for were more attentive in sending them, and thus the aspect of the school was improved. That this should be the case is nothing wonderful, because people like to have their pennyworth for their penny, and because the schools are composed hereby of rather a better class of children than are those pitiable ragamuffins whose parents are too poor to pay their weekly twopence; but then these outcasts of society, for whom the benefit of education is chiefly desirable, remain outcasts still, without it. But in order to render our system of education morally useful, there is another thing which ever since I was at school myself has appeared to me a desideratum, which seems to have been totally or very much overlooked, probably from the difficulty of acting on it.

Our rewards are given rather for *educational* than for *moral* progress. At our Sunday-schools we have tickets for good behaviour, regular attendance, and for answering scripture questions with readiness, and at our Universities we have "honours;" but for *what* are these honours, praises and degrees? For excelling in classical, scientific or mathematical knowledge. But these have nothing directly to do with morals: hence,

> "Oxford and Cambridge, though in learning profound,
> In morals and decency are not over sound."

Now, Sir, we are told that "he who ruleth his own spirit is greater than he who taketh a city;" yet, while we reward our engineers for their plans of attacking or defending a besieged city, we do not reward those who individually improve the town of *Mansoul*, as our old pious and facetious friend John Bunyan calls it. In his time, its corporation consisted, among others, of Mr. *Haughty*, Mr. *Stand-to-lies*, Mr. *Fury* and Mr. *Hard-heart;* and some of their lineal descendants form the municipal council of Mansoul at the present day. Now, it is natural to suppose that there must be something defective in our plan of education for things to be so. Still, how to remedy this is an immense difficulty: and while man himself, with his faculties matured, *practically* repudiates Christianity—and this is done by many of our most regular churchgoers—it seems impossible to allure and interest the mind of childhood to choose and approve the more excellent way. Christians were to be the "light of the world;" but they have not yet acquired this character, so that their good works should lead others to glorify their Father who is in heaven; and till the pure gospel becomes more practically influential among the *higher* classes, I fear it is almost in vain to expect any material improvement either in the children or the adults of the poor.

Chichester, Sept. 2, 1851. JOHN FULLAGAR.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Twofold Protest: a Letter from the Duke of Argyll to the Bishop of Oxford. 8vo. Pp. 34. London—Moxon.

Anglican Difficulties: Lectures on certain Difficulties felt by Anglicans in submitting to the Catholic Church. By John Henry Newman, Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. 8vo. Pp. 325. London—Burns.

The Duke's Letter is an excellent pamphlet,—perspicuous and precise, energetic and convincing, and throwing a bright light not so much *upon* as *from* the subject, the protest of the Anglican Bishop against the aggression of the Bishop of Rome. It does high honour to the Scotch Duke, and is becoming his position in the Scottish Presbyterian Church.

Its direct object may be stated in a few words. Samuel of Oxford, who, until he was dethroned from his pre-eminence by his far abler brother, Henry of Exeter, was considered as the representative of the High-church section of the Anglican clergy, deemed it necessary to deliver a Twofold Protest against the appointment of a Bishop by the Pope,—first and chiefly, because the Anglican Church was already in authority by a divine commission, exclusive of every other; and secondly, because her doctrines are true, whilst those of her enemy are false. Now, the Duke most satisfactorily shews that the argument is weakened, not strengthened, by the joining these two reasons, and that they counteract each other: for if the English priesthood have exclusive authority by divine right, then the sin of schism is established against the disobedient, whether their doctrines be true or false; but if that sin in any degree depends on the character of the doctrines, a divine territorial authority must be out of the question. This is placed in various points of view, with great skill and success, and the Duke is willing to waive all reference to his Presbyterian principles for the sake of shewing the peril in which the Episcopal Church is placed by attempting to defend itself on principles which it has in common with the Church of Rome. "Profound tendencies to Romish doctrine" being inseparable from the ecclesiastical principles of the Protest—as afterwards more elaborately shewn in Mr. Newman's Lectures—the Duke asks why, in spite of enormous doctrinal differences, is Rome the only place of refuge? He answers, "Simply because, from the principles on which they start, the authority of a priesthood is more essential than the truth of its doctrinal teaching, or, which comes to the same thing, the truth can only be judged of under the guidance of its authority." Assuming, then, that the necessity of making an election between the Church principle, which implies submission to authority, and the Bible principle, which implies the right or duty of free inquiry, with the awful responsibility attached to it, we would suggest a few of the considerations bearing upon the choice to be made, and the respective advantages and disadvantages of the alternative.

First, in favour of submission to the Church. It relieves the convert from all further anxiety, and is equally favourable to laziness and timidity. The process of obtaining proselytes in the Catholic Church is simple. It has been surpassed only by Mahomet, whose sword was the most persuasive of missionaries. When the head of an infallible Church has the aid of the State, which, according to Faber* (in anticipation of his future conversion), "will never hesitate to put to death any one whom the Church declares to be a heretic," it can dispense with all other aid. The gout, says Pope, argues better than Dr. Clarke; but the scourge and the faggot, the halter and the rack, will beat the gout out of the field any day. When heresy, or the neglect of ecclesiastical duties, is punished by the civil magistrate, all other aid may be dispensed with.

* Vide "Sights and Scenes in Foreign Lands."

Those who acutely feel the outrage of such a pretence, which, however, has succeeded with the great majority of professing Christians, may for a moment wonder what equivalent difficulty there may be in the way of adopting the other alternative. It seems to be in this,—that men who find a state of doubt intolerable, and hunger and thirst after assurance, are alarmed at the condition on which it is offered them. The Bible is presented to them as that infallible book out of which they are commanded to frame their creed, but the infallible interpreter is not presented at the same time. Free inquiry is their right, but the true conclusion is their duty. They might be comforted by the assurance, which is often made to them, that with the aid of prayer they may rely on coming to the just conclusion; for they are assured that a wayfaring man, though a fool, shall not err. And all this would be very consolatory if, looking about them, they did not see an infinite variety of conclusions, all advanced by persons of whose sincerity they have no right to doubt, and whose capacity to judge they are too humble to think inferior to their own. If the system offered them was one which made an appeal to their moral and spiritual sense, and nothing more,—which constituted the best portion of their innermost nature,—they might rely on it; for though never perhaps consciously put into words, few men have perhaps not obscurely felt what was finely said on his death-bed by Blanco White, that religion is not an affair of history, of criticism, or of metaphysics; and yet the formal creeds of the Churches are a vast assemblage of subtle points, involving every variety of learning, and requiring the exercise of every variety of gift. And then, these points have been propounded not merely for the consideration of students, the reward being an academical degree or scholastic reputation, but failure or success in the result was to end in the damnation or salvation of an immortal soul,—"He that believeth not shall be damned," being the menace placed before the inquirer's eyes. And in an age when faith was perpetually confounded with opinion, no wonder that the fear of giving a wrong answer to the riddle, and of being torn in pieces by the angry Sphinx who was waiting for her victims, drove millions into a Church which took the trouble and responsibility of investigation off their hands. In truth, the Catholic Church has but one article that is indispensable, and that is alone adequate—I believe everything to be true that is affirmed by the Church to be true.

To compensate for the want of this inestimable advantage (Church authority), which amply rewards submission by removing fears and inspiring confidence, the Protestant Churches have been in a strait. The Church of England has been in a perpetual conflict between the principles of authority and free inquiry. The Dissenting orthodox bodies which ostentatiously announce the voluntary principle, have had no better expedient than to enforce narrow and one-sided arguments, tending to conclusions which require learning and habits of thought utterly out of the reach of the multitude, by a sort of social excommunication. It never occurred to their teachers, or at all events they did not dare, to exhibit the great moral and spiritual truths in which the Christian scheme abounds, and which are indisputable, to the great body of the people; not provoking controversy, but when forced on them, met candidly and temperately. On the contrary, bodies who, like our own, pursue this course, are met only by outrageous misrepresentation and contempt,—the objects of the especial interest of the orthodox being in the inverse ratio of their worth, doctrines the most obscure and doubtful, and the most offensive to weak brethren, being perpetually obtruded upon them. This is the relation of High-Churchmen, and also of the Low-Church and Dissenting orthodox, to their respective opponents.

The relation which the same High-Churchmen bear to their Roman Catholic adversaries, at the head of whom are those individuals who set in motion the famous and fatal journey from Oxford to Rome, is powerfully exhibited in the Lectures of Father Newman. There is a significant correspondence

between these exhortations, addressed by the successful leader of the "providential movement of 1833," to his companions who are still lagging behind, for to them exclusively are they addressed, and the solemn warning of the Presbyterian Duke. His object is to remove whatever lingering difficulties there may be in the way of their carrying out perfectly the principle by which they must have been animated, which he contends can only be done by their being re-united with the Church under its sole head, the successor of St. Peter at Rome. He maintains that the primal heresy out of which all others has sprung, is *Erastianism*, and the end to be obtained by the movement was the separation of the Church from the State. It is curious to observe how, under the same name, and apparently with the same purpose, persons of the most opposite character may be found acting. We have been brought up to think that the great support of false doctrine has been the patronage of the Government, and that the Church Establishment has had the effect, if not the design, of corrupting the gospel, which could be no otherwise restored to its purity than by first withdrawing from error this great support: and we are not in the least disposed to reject any part of this notion. But the High-Church ecclesiastics who are now ready to pull down the Church Establishment mean something very different from this, and, we cannot but think, infinitely more dangerous to the liberties of mankind. As long as the clergy could avail themselves of the power of the State—that is, the civil magistrate—they rejoiced in the Establishment: it was their own. But in the course of time great changes have taken place. The Chancellor, at first a Churchman, was never allowed to be a Churchman, and the State took the lead. Originally, none but members of the Establishment could keep a school or be teachers: hence the subscription required by the M.A. at Universities. And not only this privilege was taken from them, but ultimately the lay members of the Government insisted on inspection, even when the clergy were the teachers. This is the last wrong, and that which the High-Church party now most deeply resent. We are no advocates for a *State* Church, except in this qualified sense—a Church in which ecclesiastics are not allowed to have undisputed sway. It is only by a large infusion of that practical sense which is communicated by social life to the laity, that priestcraft can be kept in check. However bad a State Church may be, a Church of mere priests, clergy or bishops, of which we see the grand exemplar in Rome, is worse; and the caution we would urge upon those who are bent on destroying the present Church Establishment, is, that they take good care the powers taken from the lay members of the Government should not fall into the hands of the clergy. Whether they be called bishops, priests or deacons, office-bearers, or ministers or elders, is, after all, very much an affair of language. We suspect there is often a great affinity among councils, synods, meetings of ministers and conferences.

Those of our readers who are sufficiently advanced in life, may smile when they recollect the avowed object of the Dissenters of somewhat more than half a century ago. Never was the meeting of extremes more strikingly exhibited than on this occasion. Not that Priestley and Newman are to be considered as intending the same thing, or that the doctrine of Dr. Arnold can be used as a reconciling medium. We can do little more than explain what these parties severally intend.

In the first place, we must remark that the Priest of the Oratory shews his policy in this, that though he is ever speaking of the Church, it is plain he is always thinking of the clergy. We believe that in fact the Anglican Bishops do not, in this respect, differ from their Romish brethren. They will alike include the faithful and obedient laity in a definition, but in fact they count little, as the common sailor does in the distribution of prize-money: and though not in terms avowed, yet the object of this work, and all the labour of the author and his brethren, is to place the authority of the Church supreme over that of the laity; and the State, considered as the representative of secular and popular power, is to be placed at the feet of the clergy; and thus priestcraft is the

fitting denomination of this movement. This distinction of laity and priest rests on the assumption of an "apostolic succession," which Arnold held in abhorrence, and the adoption or rejection of which doctrine will become hereafter the test of the two parties in the Church much more conclusively than that of baptismal regeneration, which is found to be very much a question of language. The head of the English Church has lately avowed his rejection of the doctrine of apostolic succession; and Arnold, following therein Hooker, Burke, and other high authorities, affirms the identity of Church and State. The Anti-State-Church Association, are little aware that they are opposing the only body which can effectually repel a Church of mere priests, and that the abolition of the State Church would be the triumph of priest-craft; that the doctrines of Newman, could they ever prevail, would lead to the most frightful spiritual tyranny that the world was ever cursed by. He is too cunning to allude to these topics, though on other points he exhibits a courage which amounts to rashness, or perhaps betrays an insensibility to those moral relations in human life which, respecting only our fellow-creatures and the effect of our actions upon their happiness, are unworthy the consideration of a priest, who on receiving that holy character foregoes all those social connections which humanize mankind. There are statements in this volume concerning Catholicism which we should have rejected as calumnious and grossly exaggerating from the pen of a Protestant.

The Ninth Lecture purports to explain how it is that the fact, so far from being disputed, that it is rather rejoiced in and boasted of,—that the grossest immorality and most heinous crimes may be found in combination with what the author designates true faith. "Catholics hold that faith and love, faith and obedience, faith and works, are simply separable and ordinarily separated in fact; that faith does not imply love, obedience or works; that the firmest faith, so as to move mountains, may exist without love, that is, true faith, as truly faith, in the strict sense of the word, as the faith of a martyr or a doctor." Protestants are reproached for not comprehending this, and for the mistake of considering it as the motive of obedience; and the reason is, "that it has been taught by flesh and blood, not by grace." Faith ordinarily comes "through the instrumental sacrament of baptism," but caused by a supernatural influence. This spiritual sight is "perfectly distinct, in its own nature, from the desire, intention and power of acting agreeably to it." And he proceeds to illustrate this by the statement that "a belief that Christ is in the Blessed Sacrament, is compatible with the believer's sacrilegiously carrying off the consecrated particles for the sake of the precious vessel"! Now, if only this was meant by these statements, that a believer might yield to temptation, there would be little in it; but that which astonishes is, that this faith is represented as of so great value, and this distinction is set up—that though the believing sinner is not within God's grace, he is "still within God's sight;" as if that were not the case of all men. And the murderer who, because of his true faith, refuses to eat an egg, because of the habit of faith which his very oaths and jesting may have been overruled to create in him, "girding round and protecting the supernatural principle," may, we are told, have a hope in his death to which the most virtuous of Protestants, living not by faith, but by private judgment, are necessarily strangers. It would be idle to remark on such opinions. It may be useful to know that to this end converts must come at last. We have no reason to doubt the integrity of the lecturer, and his faculties are of the highest order. In this work, his eloquence rises to high passion.

It is a sad subject of observation in what opposite directions men's minds are now proceeding. The hostility becomes more intense, and the chasm between conflicting parties becomes wider. As far as mere speculative theology is concerned, perhaps Calvinism will be found more offensive than Romanism; but it is in the power given to the Church or clergy, and in the right to treat heresy as a crime,—which, though formerly practised by Calvinists, is

yet repudiated by them, we believe, universally now,—that Romanism is become an object of more serious alarm; while the inconsistencies of the Anglican Church, and its heterogeneous character, may, in rendering that Church an object of contempt, dispose us to view her infirmities with more compassion than apprehension.

Thoughts on the Eclipse: a Sermon preached in the New Meeting-house, Birmingham, Sunday, Aug. 3, 1851. By Samuel Bache. Published by request.

Mr. Bache so seldom appears in print, that we are sure whatever he does publish will be deliberate and sound. He availed himself of the "darkening of the sun" to bring out before the joint congregations of the Old and New Meetings (just then collected in the latter place during the repair of the former) some important principles of scriptural criticism, and to point to the great religious analogies which perpetually connect Nature and the Gospel in the mind of a rational Christian. Taking his text from our Lord's prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem ("the sun shall be darkened and the moon shall not give her light"), he alludes to the not unnatural belief of ancient times that "the awful phenomena which eclipses exhibit must be regarded as mysterious portents of wide-spread political convulsions and national calamities;" and he distinguishes (what so many confound) the religious inspiration of the Prophet from the scientific ignorance which he may naturally partake with his times, except so far as religious truth may incidentally reflect light upon other departments of belief and knowledge in his mind:

"Not that I would imply, nor would be understood to imply, that our Divine Teacher was in any degree better informed on this point than were his countrymen and contemporaries. The objects with which it stands immediately related came not within his province, nor within the province of any of God's chosen messengers in more ancient days. It would have been derogatory to his heavenly mission to connect it with any purpose or object less purely spiritual than that which he always contemplated: and, therefore, in matters of mere physical science, or mere worldly interest and policy, we have no evidence that our Saviour had any other or clearer views than what generally prevailed around him; nor does it seem to me at all consistent with the profound reverence which is his due as a *religious* teacher and reformer, even to expect that other or clearer views should be found in connexion with him. It is, I am persuaded, a great wrong to divine revelation, (whether committed through pardonable ignorance and error, or unpardonable disingenuousness,) to endeavour to elicit from its records the physical facts, and principles, and laws which the researches of modern science have enabled us to discover. God has given us means sufficient in our natural faculties, and in the ordinary agency of his power and providence, for the investigation of subjects like these: he has, moreover, appointed that the results of this investigation shall bear so powerfully and immediately on our comfort and advancement as citizens of this world, that we have every motive for carrying it on, in its numerous departments, with vigour and perseverance. Nay, these means and motives too often give to scientific investigation and the application of its results to our outward convenience and comfort, an overwhelming interest in men's minds. Were it not for divine revelation, this would be universally their effect. Is it conceivable, then, that this revelation itself should be directed upon objects already too engrossing, or should even involve a similar tendency?

"From these considerations it manifestly follows that the purely spiritual nature and purpose of our Saviour's mission demanded the absolute exclusion of mere physical and worldly science from his divine knowledge and doctrines; and that, consequently, we may repose an unwavering confidence in the well ascertained results of modern scientific investigation, even though it should be impossible to deduce those results from the recorded instructions of our Master,

or to show that his own views were even in accordance with them. As regards the specific case before us, we may allow and maintain that Jesus Christ may, for aught we know, have thought that eclipses of the sun and moon were really portents of national calamity, (an opinion in his day almost universally prevalent,) and yet may, at the same time, maintain both our spiritual allegiance to him as our Teacher and Lord, and our conviction that these eclipses had not, nor can have, any real and immediate connexion with the destiny of either nations or individuals. In other words, our faith as Christians is altogether irrespective of the investigations and discoveries of mere worldly science and philosophy."—Pp. 8—10.

Mr. Bache then traces "the valuable moral and religious lessons" suggested by "the wondrous and striking appearances which an eclipse presents." "They teach that the providence of God is exercised throughout the visible and material creation." They "shew us that the wisdom of God is in accordance with the reason of man; and, conversely, that the reason of man is, *in kind*, the same as the wisdom of God." "They teach us that God addresses himself thereby to the reverence of man not less than to his intelligence." "They lead us to regard the providence of God as exercised over men and their affairs, not less than over the material world." And, lastly, the preacher connects these thoughts on the mighty courses of Nature and Providence with the corresponding and confirmatory views derived from the Gospel. We must quote from this head of the discourse:

"The figurative language employed by our Saviour in the passage which has been made the foundation of these remarks, because containing expressions borrowed from the phenomena which have suggested them, is employed by him to embody a distinct and awful prediction which he was specially empowered and authorised to proclaim. This circumstance naturally connects the conclusions which we have already drawn, with that most clear and decisive confirmation which they receive from the mission and miracles of our Lord Jesus Christ. It assures us that the God of nature and of providence is also the God of grace, the God and Father of our spirits as being the God and Father especially of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

"Our conclusions from an enlightened survey of the phenomena of nature, extraordinary as well as ordinary, unquestionably *needed* such confirmation. It is idle and delusive to speculate only, where we have decisive facts at hand. Let us consider the facts which bear immediately on this point, and we shall be satisfied that a special revelation was indeed necessary; if not to confirm rational conviction in a few philosophic minds, at least to give to such conviction a living energy which should make it effectual for the instruction and reformation of man.

"Six hundred years before the advent of our great Redeemer, two large and powerful armies were drawn up in battle array on the plains of Lesser Asia, in deadly hostility to each other. For five years had their respective nations carried on war against each other with nearly equal success; and now in the sixth year they were again met for fierce encounter. Their hearts beat high with the hope of conquest and victory; they panted eagerly to engage with each other in mortal strife and determine the awful issue of their conflict. Already had they joined their hostile ranks and were now in the very heat of the battle, when on a sudden their slaughtering hands were arrested and their martial ardour quenched. What occasioned this instant and decisive pause? The historian who records it tells us that 'day was suddenly turned into night.' He further informs us that 'this change of the day, Thales the Milesian had foretold; fixing beforehand this year as the very period in which the change actually took place.'* Thus six hundred years before the time of Christ, an advance had already been made in physical science sufficient to enable man to interpret and even predict the wonderful and instructive phenomenon which we find so suggestive of moral and religious wisdom. Did that moral and religious wisdom follow thereupon?

* "Herodotus, i. 74.

"Four hundred years before the birth of Christ, there appeared in the metropolis of the ancient world a teacher whom the oracle justly declared to be the wisest of men. He discerned full well the absurdities of the popular faith, and instructed his disciples in the being and providence of one only God. Yet was he so far from perceiving or owning the practical value of this sublime truth, that he specially enjoined on his followers an outward conformity with the established religious system, and made it his boast, in his last defence of himself before his fickle countrymen, that he had always offered sacrifice at the public festivals and on his country's altars.* Such was *Socrates:* and the fundamental religious truth which he gained by the exercise of his clear and comprehensive genius, remained the secret portion of the select few, and never reached the general mind or affected in any measure the prevailing sentiments and worship.

"Fifty years before the birth of Christ another philosopher appeared, combining in his own person the science and learning of ancient Greece with the newly awakened energy of Roman culture and civilisation. He gathered together as an eclectic all the treasures of thought and knowledge which had previously been gained; and thus richly and variously furnished by study and meditation, he soon came to deride the slavish superstitions which prevailed around him, expressing incidentally his wonder, in one of his philosophical treatises, 'that one soothsayer could look another in the face without laughing.'† In this very treatise he still further declares, 'There is nothing more excellent than God; by him, therefore, the world must necessarily be governed; to no other being is God, therefore, obedient or subject; he himself, consequently, rules all nature.'‡ Such sentiments as these did *Cicero* avow and maintain in his philosophical writings with all the fascinations of an eloquence which made him the very prince of Roman orators: yet he departed from the midst of that highest civilisation in which he had justly acquired the most commanding eminence, and left the ancient idols of his nation to be still the gods of his country and of the world, to preside over the still extending conquests of his country's arms, and the still increasing grandeur of her imperial sway.

"In but a single century after his death, what signs of a regenerated world appear! From the midst of a despised and vanquished race, almost forgotten amidst the vast extent of Roman conquests till calling down on themselves the destructive vengeance of their conquerors, men had gone forth proclaiming not only the vanity of idols and their worshipers, but the sole supremacy of one infinite and invisible God: proclaiming too that a great Prophet had risen up among that very nation, the specially chosen nation of God, and that God had visited his people. In a word, the anointed Prophet and well-beloved Son of the Most High had, ere this time, executed his heavenly commission and sent forth his chosen missionaries. By miracles, and signs, and wonders, which God did by him in the midst of his own nation, had he himself been proved to be from God, and by the like miracles, and signs, and wonders, did he give testimony to the divine mission of his Apostles. By this great event it was that the whole aspect of the world had at this time begun to change. And as such striking and conclusive testimonies as the miracles of Christ afforded were necessary to the conviction of others, so were they not less necessary to the assurance and confirmation of his own mind in the faith in which he lived, and taught, and died. Without them he might well have doubted his high and arduous mission; without them he might justly have deemed it presumption to teach 'as one having authority.' The very humility and devout reverence which were eminently characteristic of his soul must have made him reject, as proud and impious, the assumption of his exalted claims and office, had he not known by an unequivocal consciousness, sanctioned by correspondent outward manifestations equally unequivocal, that his works and doctrine were not his own, but the Father's who sent him. Thus, to the necessity for divine power and light which the ancient world confessed, did its all-wise Ruler and compassionate Father graciously administer; sending his beloved Son into the world in the fulness of the times, 'not to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved:' and in him accordingly do we, his followers, believe and hope, and rejoice in his great salvation."—Pp. 18—22.

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* "Xenophon: Memorabilia; Apologia, § 11.

† "De Naturâ Deorum, i. 26. ‡ Ibid. ii. 30.

Unitarian Christianity in its Relation to Human Life: or, an Estimate of the Good and Evil of the Unitarian Churches in England: a Discourse preached at Tamworth, before the Unitarian Tract Society for Warwickshire and the neighbouring Counties, at their Forty-fifth Annual General Meeting, August 20, 1851. By Edward Higginson, Minister of West-Gate Chapel, Wakefield. 12mo. Pp. 27. London—Whitfield.

It is one of the consequences of the free thought and fearless speech which characterize Unitarians, that the evils and dangers of our position receive a large, if not undue, amount of attention. The speeches delivered at our anniversaries, and the letters printed in the Correspondence department of our periodicals, are sometimes morbid and one-sided, calculated rather to repress simple and honest zeal than to cure the evils complained of. We accept, therefore, with a feeling of gratitude the sensible, cheerful and manly sermon of Mr. Higginson. He does not close his eyes on the faults and dangers of his denomination; but he clearly sees, and expresses in forcible language, the true attributes of Unitarian Christianity, and the noble services it may render to the church and the world.

Mr. Higginson probably thinks that the best way to cure the faults of Unitarians is to inspire them with an enlightened zeal for their religious system, and to encourage every well-meant effort for its promotion.

We have marked for extract a few passages in which our author describes truly and forcibly the salient points of contrast between our own and other churches at the present time.

The Church of England.

"Uniformity is the professed basis of the Church of England. She has a uniform creed and uniform ceremonial; so far, that is, as books go. Yet the uniformity is confined to the written book. It does not pervade the minds of her worshipers and clergy. The present division of parties in the Church of England proclaims her attempt at intellectual uniformity a failure; and worse than a failure—a bond of insincerity, a trap to tender consciences, an insult to the majesty of Divine Truth and the manliness of the human mind."—P. 8.

The Church of Rome.

"The Romish Church professes to have been uniform through *all ages* since the days of the apostles, instead of dating from a parliamentary act of uniformity passed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and subject to alteration by the parliament of Queen Victoria. And the marks of Romish uniformity are seen plainly and sadly enough along the history of Europe, in the continued resistance of Councils, and Popes, and Priesthood, to the progress of physical and moral science; such resistance as that Church even now makes to the attempted spread of science and secular learning by the Queen's Colleges in Ireland."—P. 8.

Independents.

"There is another body of Dissenters, coeval with ourselves, and whose older name of *Independents* expressed that very principle, the isolation of each worshiping body, which now characterizes us as it used to do them. They have, in quite recent times, without giving up the consitutional independency of their churches, contrived to link them together in fraternal bonds of joint action and joint interest, and have even written the fact in their exchange of the name Independent for that of Congregationalist. Their stricter discipline within each church (of a kind which we shall never be likely to imitate, as involving spiritual interference such as we should think quite inconsistent with individual self-respect) has probably led to this union of their churches."—Pp. 9, 10.

The Anti-Sectarians.

"It has, indeed, been suggested that a common basis for a free theology and comprehensive worship may be found by Trinitarians and Unitarians conjointly, on their mutually relinquishing the profession of their antagonistic doctrines, and meeting upon those greater religious truths which are common to all Christians. I stop not to ask what those truths are; they must be either Trinitarian or not Trinitarian. Worship that is not actively Trinitarian is essentially Uni-

tarian, without the introduction of controversial phrases. But this is a ground which, if we could take, the sincerely orthodox cannot. They cannot, they do not, regard the doctrines which they call orthodox as alternative questions. To their minds, those doctrines are the absolute saving truth to such as believe them; and their denial, however conscientious and intelligent, is spiritually penal. To attempt to meet us on the ground of a free theology is therefore impossible to them. A few may seem willing to do it, who have orthodox impressions, yet without orthodox convictions; but those who really hold the orthodox doctrines as the only saving faith, cannot be satisfied to see them put in abeyance. While, on the part of the Unitarian, to suppress those convictions which he would avow simply as his own belief, without ever thinking for one moment of imposing them upon others by spiritual threats, seems a dissimulation as objectless and unnatural as it is transparent; for the keen eye of orthodoxy detects heresy by its negative, as easily as by its positive tokens. There is no sound basis, then, to be found in moral compromise."—Pp. 16, 17.

The Office of the Unitarian Church.

"It is given to us, and to no others at present, to reconcile Revelation in its simplicity with Science in its advancement. We are deputed to vindicate Christianity from the damaging interpretations of orthodoxy, and the consequent contempt of such thinkers as dare avow their contempt, and from the yet more hurtful conformity of those who disbelieve, yet conform to, established, customary, fashionable modes of worship, and call themselves liberal for an indifferentism which takes shelter under the roof of a creed-bound and anathematizing church. We are enabled to offer, in the services of our church, an asylum for all whom orthodoxy has wronged in intellect and heart, but who still resolve to serve God with their mind, and have not lost their devoutness of feeling in the tremendous conflict for freedom of thought. Would that more of such would accept our invitation! If all who think with us worshiped with us, we should be a large sect. Our open profession, then, is our contribution to public conscience."—Pp. 26, 27.

When we say that every page of this sermon contains passages as good as those we have quoted, our readers need no other proof that it is no common discourse, and will well repay a thoughtful perusal.

The Sunday-School and Young Family Service Book, containing a short Religious Service for each Sunday in the Month. To which are prefixed some Remarks on the use of Forms. Second Edition. 18mo. Pp. 108. London —Whitfield.

THEY who object to the use of forms of prayer in a miscellaneous congregation, may yet see good reasons for their adoption in a school, in the interest they excite in the children themselves, and in the acknowledged difficulty to teachers and superintendents of schools to utter prayers of their own suitable to the occasion and intelligible to children. A service in which the responses of the congregation form an important part, rouses and retains the attention of young persons far more than prayers exclusively uttered by the conductor of worship. The neat little volume before us has already proved itself very useful, and has been adopted in several of our schools. The new edition is in many respects improved. To each service a chant is added, and a short collect at the end. The tables of lessons for each Sunday in the year, selected from the Gospels and Epistles, from the Psalms and from the Old Testament, are very judiciously constructed, and attention to them will secure great variety in the Scripture lessons, and prevent the best and most impressive portions of the Bible from being overlooked. The services will occupy from twenty minutes to half an hour each, according to the manner in which they are conducted. Large use has been made in them of the beautiful prayers of the Liturgy of the Church of England.

INTELLIGENCE.

DOMESTIC.

Opening of the New Unitarian Church, Birkenhead.

We have much pleasure in recording the opening of a new Unitarian church. The important and rising town of Birkenhead, and the villages adjacent to it on the Cheshire side of the Mersey, contained many Unitarian families; but owing to the distance at which many lived from the Liverpool chapels, and the inconvenience of crossing the river, especially in stormy or foggy weather, several families had altogether given up their attendance, either worshiping at home, or, for the sake of social prayer, frequenting places where doctrines were preached which they deemed unscriptural; whilst, even where a connection with the Liverpool congregations was retained, unfavourable weather precluded all but the strong and active from the benefits of public worship. When the society which assembled at Paradise Street removed to their beautiful church in Hope Street, which is about a mile further from the river, this disadvantage was more pressingly felt, and, after much consideration, some gentlemen last November convened a meeting to consider the propriety of hiring a room, in which a dozen or twenty families, at most, might assemble for worship. No suitable room, however, could be obtained for their exclusive use; they would have been obliged to bring all their books with them every Sunday morning, and take them away every Sunday evening; whilst the room, during the week, would be used for any persons who, for any purpose, might choose to hire it. They were discouraged when they found that it would be necessary to build, as the time seemed peculiarly unfavourable for raising funds, owing to the expenses attending the handsome structure in Hope Street. They handed round a subscription list, however, and found that some who had given most largely to the Liverpool church, nevertheless were ready with their liberal co-operation. It seemed then practicable to erect a chapel, if they could limit their views to a place that would cost some £800 or £1000; and they were the more encouraged by finding, in the course of their inquiries, that there were more Unitarian families in the neighbourhood than they had been at all aware of. The spot which they selected is in Grange Lane, about a mile from the Ferries, on the road ascending to Oxton and Claughton, and is regarded as one of the most central that could be obtained. On the opposite side of the road is a Scotch Secession church.

The building is of the geometric decorated period of English architecture, built of Flaybrick-Hill wall-stone, with Stourton-Hill white-stone dressings, and lined with brickwork. The church consists of a well-lighted nave and transept, with chancel converted into a vestry, and organ gallery over. A small octagonal bell-turret, with slated spire surmounted by gilt cross, is introduced with an attached porch.—The ground northwards being favourable, an excellent school-room has been constructed under the transepts, well lighted and ventilated, with all necessary out-buildings, &c.—The interior of the church is extremely neat, simple and effective,—the seats having plain chamfered stall-ends, and the roof being constructed with couples. The church has been furnished with warming apparatus, gas-fittings, &c., complete, and the whole space enclosed with substantial boundary-wall with ornamental gates, and the ground laid out, for the sum of £1100, being the amount named by the Committee to be expended upon the building. Messrs. Hornblower and Barry were the architects, and Mr. John Morris, of Birkenhead, the builder.

The church was opened for public worship on the morning of Thursday, Aug. 28. The Rev. James Martineau, with earnest solemnity, led the devotions of the people, and the Rev. Geo. Armstrong, B.A., of Bristol, preached an impressive and interesting discourse on the occasion from 1 Tim. iii. 15, "That thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the church of the living God." Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, the church was filled. We observed many influential laymen, and the following ministers: the Revds. C. Berry, Leicester; F. Bishop, Liverpool; P. P. Carpenter, B.A., Warrington; R. L. Carpenter, B.A., Birkenhead; D. Davis, B.A., Lancaster; James Malcolm, Chester; J. Robberds, B.A., Toxteth Park; and G. V. Smith, B.A., Principal of Manchester New College.

The day was one of peculiar interest,

because marked by three events, either of which would have given it some importance to the Unitarians of Birkenhead. This day, for the first time, they met together as a worshiping assembly; this day, for the first time, a new Unitarian church was solemnized, devoted to the service of God; and this day, for the first time, they were introduced to the minister whom they had chosen to conduct their worship in that church. We understand that the committee appointed by the subscribers to the building did not feel authorized to make any permanent arrangements which should bind down the congregation which might eventually be formed, and that the subscribers, at their suggestion, unanimously invited the Rev. R. L. Carpenter to undertake the pastoral charge among them for six months. For the same length of time the Liturgy edited by the Rev. G. Brock, of Swansea, is to be employed in the morning service.

In the evening, the events to which we have alluded were celebrated by a soirée at the Craven Rooms, Birkenhead, where the attendance was large to overflowing. The Liverpool Unitarians shewed their fraternal feeling to the new society by being present in large numbers, and we were glad to see many persons of other denominations. The management of the tables was superintended by the committee of ladies, by whose liberality and zeal they had been furnished. John H. Greene, Esq., occupied the President's chair at the centre table, and on each side of him were the gentlemen who were to take part in the proceedings of the evening. Great praise is due to those who made the arrangements, which contributed to the pleasantness by which the occasion was characterized.

When the repast was concluded, the Chairman loyally proposed, "The Queen —may her life be long and happy! her reign an epoch in the civilization of the world." "God save the Queen" was then sung by the choir (who had assisted at the morning service, and who in the course of the evening sang some beautiful glees); the company joined in the chorus. The Chairman then gave, "The Prince Albert; Albert, Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, and the rest of the Royal Family." He next proposed, "The Rev. Geo. Armstrong, the accomplished advocate of Unitarianism in the West of England. May the ardent zeal and persuasive eloquence for which he is distinguished, long continue to adorn and propagate our Christian faith."

Mr. Armstrong said that there was no cause dearer to his heart than Unitarian Christianity. To spread it, in its right spirit, was to spread truth, free inquiry and universal charity. He rejoiced to see the zeal that had been manifested at Birkenhead, and dwelt with great pleasure on the beauty of their edifice. He thought that we might, with advantage, copy some of that zeal which the Puseyites had shewn for the improvement of church architecture and the solemnities of worship. The externals of religion were not to be neglected, and we needed greater attention to them. He had been often pained with an appearance of apathy and vacancy during the reading of the Scriptures. Where a congregation followed the minister in their open Bibles, joined zealously in liturgical responses, and shewed some of that ardour in singing the praises of their Heavenly King which had been displayed in their anthem for an earthly sovereign, a deep impression was made on the mind. He hoped that this new society would shew that they were fellow-workers with the minister and sharers in his devotions, and would cultivate the religious affections; and that there would be such reality in their belief, that they would resist the allurements to abandon principle which the world might offer.

The Chairman then proposed, "The Rev. Geo. Harris—the readiness with which he accepted the invitation to assist at the opening of our church, has our warmest thanks, and has added to the many services he has already rendered to Unitarianism by the eloquence and power with which he has developed and enforced it."

Mr. Harris spoke at some length, and with great power and eloquence. He gave a glowing and beautiful description of Unitarianism, which to his mind was identical with Christianity. He dwelt on the importance of religious union. "I confess," he said, "that I do not understand the man who is the backstay of Free-trade Leagues, sanitary associations, temperance movements and peace arbitrations, but who, in religious matters, shuts himself up in his own chamber, and, in the pride of his own heart, sneers at ignorance which he does not attempt to enlighten, and at barriers which he does not attempt to remove, and looks on the communion of saints as a delusion."

Christ's love was social love, and nothing is more interesting than an assembly of those who meet in fraternal affection, offering acceptable worship, in the name of Jesus, to the Universal Father. The awful evils in the world demand united action to remove them. The chains of spiritual bondage sound in the ears of the freeman as an appeal for effort to promote liberty, that men may call their souls their own. "Make those efforts, and Heaven will bless you, humanity will bless you; and when you bless humanity, by so doing, you will bless yourselves." Mr. Harris forcibly shewed the importance of vital Christianity, which should make a society active in every good work, and proposed, "The Unitarian congregation at Birkenhead. May they seek the truth of God and embrace it; cultivate good-will to men, and display it; and be a society of brethren, keeping the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace."

T. Carr, Esq., acknowledged the sentiment on behalf of the Birkenhead congregation, and described the difficulties which many Unitarians on that side of the water had felt in attending the worship of the Father. He had been educated in different doctrines; and, valuing his present opinions, desired their spread, though he entertained kindly feelings to conscientious opponents. The organization of the new society had already occasioned him great pleasure, in introducing him to those of kindred sentiments. He thought that ministers might avail themselves of their proximity to effect exchanges, as the strain on a minister who had weekly to meet congregations with such requirements as our own, was excessive. In the name of the congregation, he gave the right hand of fellowship to their minister, with whom they hoped to be fellow-workers, and proposed, "The Rev. R. L. Carpenter, with our cordial welcome on his arrival, and best wishes for his permanent settlement among us."

Mr. Carpenter, after thanking the meeting for the hearty welcome he had received, mentioned that, since his American tour, he had been engaged in reviving the Unitarian society at Neath, where the chapel had been closed for eight years. The unexpected success which had attended his efforts he attributed to the zeal and earnestness of some of the supporters of the cause there; and he had every reason to hope that similar ardour and activity on the part of this new congregation would be followed by similar results. He acknowledged that he had felt a passing regret when he first heard that their building was to be called the Unitarian church, since he did not think it the usage of the old Nonconformist body to which he belonged to give a doctrinal name to their edifices. The name Unitarian conveyed to many a false impression, and was thought negative and sectarian. He admired, however, the honesty and courage which led to its adoption; and, like other words of wide significance, he should use it, as he thought it ought to be used. Certainly, it seemed absurd to call it sectarian, when it denoted the only truth, the Unity of the Godhead, about which all believers in a revealed religion were agreed. Nor was it negative, like Antitrinitarian, Nonconformist, Non-subscriber, Dissenter or Protestant, which denoted opposition, whilst this simply affirmed a positive idea. He thought that the idea of *unity* which it implied had not been sufficiently considered. We say not only of God and Christ and man, that each is one, but also that they are to be at one with each other. Each is to be perfect as a unit, to make unity more complete.

T. M'Tear, Esq., proposed, "The congregations of Liverpool, Chester and the neighbourhood, and their ministers: an instructed and enlightened clergy, a people faithful, zealous and united among themselves and to their ministers, attract by a resemblance to the first Christian church, and attach by a knowledge of their inner life."

Rev. John Robberds supposed that he was first called upon, on the principle suggested by Mr. Armstrong, as a *prelude* to something more substantial and important. The only pretext that occurred to him for taking the lead in responding to the sentiment was, that as minister of the most ancient of their chapels, indeed of the most ancient place of worship in the neighbourhood, he might fitly be the first to offer a welcome to the congregation that had sprung into existence that day. Representing as he did an antiquity of more than 200 years, he felt somewhat venerable on the occasion. He most cordially concurred in the sentiment to which he was called to respond, but he should wish to add one word to it—"an instructed, enlightened and *earnest* clergy." They had been reminded in the morning that light and heat might be dissociated, and perhaps they were too apt as a religious body to cherish

intellectual acumen at the expense of religious warmth. He had lately been reading the Memoirs of Dr. Chalmers, and, though there was much with which he could not intellectually sympathize, though many of the admired passages produced from his pulpit appeals seemed to him wordy and diffuse declamation, he had been much impressed with the power which his own deep conviction that he was engaged in a holy work gave him over others. He was indeed a great man—a man of true genius, hallowed by a prophet's fire. His intensity of holy purpose enabled him to gather men around him of all ranks into a glorious and united band of fellow-labourers, to carry out his wise and energetic plans. Now, though they differed in matters of opinion from Dr. Chalmers, there was no reason why they should not cherish and apply this quality of *earnestness*. They had a mission to discharge no less holy than his, and they might apply themselves to it with no less ardour.—He had special reasons for feeling an interest in the proceedings of that day. Some of those who formed the new congregation had formerly been his hearers at the Ancient chapel when they resided in the opposite county. He had sometimes been pained to think that in their new locality they were "scattered abroad as sheep having no shepherd," and he was glad that, in conjunction with others around them, they had now formed themselves into a church. With reference to the hint thrown out as to the desirableness of exchanges, it would be a pleasure to him, should he occasionally avail himself of it, to see some old faces, and address some whom he had formerly numbered among his hearers in the Park. It was an additional source of strong interest to himself that they had invited to labour with them his old and valued friend Mr. Carpenter. They had studied together at York, taken their degree together in London, and almost ever since their characters could be said to be formed, maintained an unbroken and increasing interchange of mutual sympathy and friendship. His friend's "antecedents" had been alluded to, and it had been his privilege to know his venerated father, the late Dr. Carpenter, respecting whom he wished only that he had enjoyed opportunities of knowing still more of his character and life. From all he knew, both of his friend's hereditary and self-formed acquirements, he could sincerely and cordially congratulate them on the connection they had formed. He considered that his friend had had a great advantage in spending some months in the United States, and witnessing the earnestness, the freshness, the real religious life, existing in our churches there. He had no doubt that he had derived many valuable hints and suggestions from his experience and observation in America, which he would be enabled, with their co-operation, to embody in his labours among them. In conclusion, he trusted that they would not content themselves with having erected the material fabric within which they had that day for the first time worshiped, but that, "coming unto Jesus as unto a living stone, they would themselves also, as living stones, be built up into a spiritual house, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ."

Rev. J. Malcolm responded on behalf of the Chester congregation, which in past generations had enjoyed the ministry of the venerated Henry. He expressed his conviction that public opinion was turning in the right direction.

Rev. J. Martineau, on behalf of himself and his friend Mr. Thom, then on the continent, offered hearty and affectionate congratulations to this new colony. If they made a "declaration of independence," he had the pleasant conviction that it arose from no injury they had received from the "mother country," or ill-will towards her. He paid a touching tribute to the memory of Dr. Carpenter, in whose home he had been an inmate, and gladly welcomed his son among them. If he (Mr. M.) did not seem to act on the hint which had been given, that frequent ministerial exchanges might be attended with advantage, it arose from the circumstance that he delivered an hour's lecture before the morning service, and met a class of catechumens after it; and those were duties which he could not transfer to another. A sentiment had been placed in his hands, "Education for the child, seclusion for the juvenile offender, self-dependence for all. May the respective duties of the parent and the legislator be so discharged, as to promote and establish the moral greatness of our country, and the virtue and happiness of future generations." His desire was, that parents should be awakened to a sense of their responsibilities and obligations, and then the provisions made by Government would be more efficacious; and

this could not be fully done without the cultivation of a religious spirit. He rejoiced that a school-room was connected with their church. Education should be hallowed by Christian love.

W. Rathbone, Esq., was called on to support the sentiment, which he did in a feeling speech, though he approved of *separation* for the juvenile offender, *not seclusion*. He shewed the evils of our present prison discipline, and alluded to the exertions of the late E. Rushton, Esq., stipendiary magistrate for Liverpool, for the establishment of a Reformatory for Juvenile Offenders. Mr. R. (who is a member of the Renshaw-St. congregation) congratulated the Birkenhead society on this interesting occasion.

Rev. R. L. Carpenter proposed, "The contributors to the building fund, and the committee by whom the money has been so judiciously expended, with our grateful acknowledgments of the services so liberally rendered."

W. A. Jevons, Esq., replied on behalf of the committee, and gave an interesting account of the steps which had led to so desirable a consummation; not, however, that their work had ended,—in the highest sense, it had only just begun. A Christian church was not a building of stone and mortar, but a structure raised up of the hearts and lives of men. He hoped that they and their minister should be truly united in a religious fellowship, which should be manifested beyond the walls of their edifice in sympathy and joint labours.

The Chairman then proposed, "The Ladies: their presence cheers, their influence refines. Our warmest thanks are due to those who have contributed so largely to the successes of the day."

The ladies found an eloquent representative in E. Myers, Esq.

Rev. G. Armstrong proposed, and the meeting by acclamation carried, a vote of thanks to the Chairman; after which a hymn was sung, and the proceedings closed with prayer by the Rev. G. Harris.

We have rarely attended so gratifying a meeting. Hope and cheerfulness seemed appropriate to the birth of a new religious body. The various speakers were cordially received, their appeals met a warm response, and the audience remained till the conclusion, about ten o'clock.

On the morning of the following Sunday, a crowded congregation assembled to hear the Rev. G. Harris, who took as his text Acts xxiv. 14, 15, 16, and dwelt on the fundamentals of Unitarian doctrine, and deprecated the isolated selfishness and religious indifference which sometimes assumes the name of anti-sectarianism. He concluded his very eloquent discourse with an extract from Dr. Gannett. In the evening, the Rev. J. Robberds conducted the devotional service, and the Rev. R. L. Carpenter discoursed on that true sanctity which can only be attained by *truth* of heart and life, the truth as it is in Jesus (John xvii. 19). The committee have requested these discourses, and that of Mr. Armstrong, for publication, but we have not heard with what result. The stated services of this church may be said to have commenced on Sunday, Sept. 7, when the attendance was more numerous than had been anticipated, as the church has been built in faith, rather to accommodate those who it is hoped will eventually belong to it, than those families only who desired its erection. We understand, however, that half the seats are already taken. The Lord's Supper was administered. The Communion service is the gift of a lady of the congregation. We hope, and we think with reason, that this religious enterprize will be attended with that success which is not denied to those who are "zealously affected in a good thing;" that this church may be the sanctuary of those whom the denunciations of bigoted churches has excluded, and the religious home of those who desire to form a household of faith, keeping the first of all the commandments, and the second, which is like unto it.

Unitarianism at Southampton.

With much satisfaction we direct the attention of our readers to the successful effort just made to provide a permanent place for Unitarian worship in Southampton. The zeal and public spirit manifested by the Rev. Edmund Kell in securing, on his own responsibility, the chapel recently used by the Methodists, are most commendable. We feel assured that he will be borne harmless by the aid of Unitarians in different parts of England, and recommend the immediate transmission of their subscriptions to him. The particulars of the case are well stated in the following Address:

"The congregation at Southampton earnestly entreat the attention of the En-

glish Unitarians to the following statement of their present situation, in the hope of obtaining their generous assistance. Having received notice to vacate the room in which they have hitherto worshiped, and which they had rented of C. B. Smith, Esq., lately deceased, some new arrangement became necessary. At this crisis, a neat and commodious chapel, situated in the centre of the town, which the Methodists had given up for a larger building, was advertised for sale. The Rev. Edmund Kell immediately applied to Wm. Duckworth, Esq., of Beechwood, near Southampton, to ask him if he would permit the £100, which he had generously promised on certain annexed conditions towards the *erection* of a new chapel, to be devoted towards the purchase of this. Having received an answer in the affirmative, provided two-thirds of the purchase-money were immediately raised, and having obtained an estimate of the building, which, for objects of trade, was valued at £450, the Rev. Edmund Kell, on his own responsibility, made the purchase for £430. The surveyor stated that another £100 would be required for tenantable repairs, painting, &c.; but the Building Committee hope that the £100 will cover this and all legal and other incidental expenses. The purchase is considered in every respect a good one. For the same property, an offer of £700 was refused a year ago, £900 being then demanded. The Rev. Hugh Hutton is their present approved minister, and his able instructions, it is believed, will contribute greatly to the permanent prosperity of the congregation.

"The friends to this rising church confidently expect, and respectfully and urgently solicit, that the whole sum may be *at once* raised, in order that the congregation may enter on their new chapel free of debt, and be able to devote the proceeds of their pew-rents to the income of their minister. This, it is hoped, will place the congregation on a firm basis. Is it too much to expect from the friends of Unitarianism that this hope shall be realized? We hope not. Surely the desire to promote this glorious object will induce the more wealthy and earnest Unitarians among our body 'to come over and help us.' Such a sphere of extended usefulness as Southampton opens to us, from its commercial and rapidly-increasing population, has not presented itself for many years. The town seems ripe for the effort, and a strong and united exertion will now, under the blessing of God, crown with success all the past labours for the diffusion of our holy faith. May the great Giver of all good put it into the hearts of our brethren thus to aid in the establishment of a church, which shall not only be a blessing to Southampton, but which shall in its turn, if faithful to its trust, carry the blessings of the gospel to other places, strengthening other churches in the acknowledgment of the One only living and true God, and 'Jesus Christ, whom he has sent.'"

To this we may add that the chapel was opened on Thursday, Sept. 25th. The opening sermon was preached by Rev. Edmund Kell, who has earned the respect and confidence, not only of the friends at Southampton, but of the Unitarian churches generally in the district, by his consistent and judicious labours as Secretary of the Southern Unitarian Society for a quarter of a century. The second sermon on the same day was preached by Rev. Edward Tagart. On the Sunday following, the services were conducted by Rev. Hugh Hutton.—For some time to come, this infant society may need the fostering aid of Unitarians at a distance, and we hope it will be granted with a liberality proportioned to the gratifying prospect of usefulness and success.

Cheltenham.

To the great regret of his congregation, Rev. Henry Solly is compelled, by a consideration for the health of his family, to leave Cheltenham and seek a more bracing climate. During a residence of about four years, Mr. Solly has laboured zealously in the work of the ministry at Cheltenham, and his exertions have been rewarded by the increased numbers and zeal of the congregation. On accepting his resignation, his attached flock expressed, through Mr. Kershaw Lumb, their sorrow at the necessity of the separation; recorded their sense of the disinterestedness which had in the first instance led him, to the neglect of better pecuniary prospects, to settle with them; and assured him that he would carry with him, wherever he might go, the respect and affectionate regards of his friends at Cheltenham.

Scholarship in connection with Manchester New College.

It is with no small gratification that we announce that Mr. Ainsworth, of Cleator, has, with equal munificence and judgment, offered a Scholarship of the value of £100 to such students of Manchester New College as shall hereafter

obtain the Gold Medal at the University of London. The motive that has actuated this liberal offer is a desire to attract in greater numbers young men of talent to an institution which, in Mr. Ainsworth's judgment, has "hitherto done good service by sending out men qualified, ready and willing, to lead the intelligence or curb the folly of the age." But the whole of the letter in which Mr. Ainsworth expressed his views in offering this Scholarship, is admirable; and we avail ourselves of his permission, and that of the College Committee, to give it wider circulation through our columns.

The conditions to be attached to the Scholarship are at the time we write under consideration, and will be made public with as little delay as possible.

COPY OF LETTER TO REV. R. B. ASPLAND.

The Flosh, August 20th, 1851, Whitehaven.

My dear Sir,—Understanding that you are one of a Committee appointed to take into consideration how Manchester College can be made more *generally* useful and efficient, I avail myself of the opportunity to offer the Prize, on the subject of which I had some conversation with you, when at The Flosh last Christmas.

I have thought much about the matter since that time, and have now concluded to offer (if the College think it right to accept) a prize of £100 to every Gold Medallist being at the time, or having previously been, a Student of Manchester New College.

Wishing not to be misunderstood in this matter, I shall be obliged to state my views and wishes more at length than you may think the money value of the Prize warrants me in doing.

In the first place, this Prize will be given by me from year to year, and will in all probability die with me, for I am no advocate for endowments, which are frequently misapplied, sometimes even to the opposing the intentions of the donor—generally subjects for litigation, and always injurious—by tying down as tight as they can the opinions of the present age to those of the age gone by. I wish to spend my money in my lifetime.

Secondly, I offer the Prize not as a stimulus to greater exertion on the part either of Professors or Students of Manchester College, for we have every reason to be well satisfied with the position taken by the Students at the three last M.A. Examinations, each year a Gold Medallist being sent from Manchester College.

The object I wish to accomplish is to induce more men to enter themselves of Manchester College; and this Prize may have charms for some who are studying under a more restricted and illiberal system. There is no doubt the religious and political world is in a disorganized and troubled state at present, and leaders and directors will be required; and as Manchester College has hitherto done good service by sending out men qualified, ready and willing, to lead the intelligence or curb the folly of the age, in times gone by, I should be glad to do all I can to enable her to *increase* the number of her well-disciplined scholars and right *hearted philanthropists* for the times which are approaching, for much will they be needed.

I do not limit this Prize to Divinity Students. The proper and legitimate mode of increasing candidates for the ministry, is for congregations to remunerate their clergy adequately, and to co-operate with them zealously. My object is to bring all young aspirants for literary honours and distinction within the influence of Manchester New College.

I do not think it would be wise in Manchester College (if it accepts this Prize) to insist upon candidates being *exclusively* its own.

I think it should allow them to avail themselves of studying in other Colleges and under other Professors, if, by so doing, the chances of turning out Medallists can be increased. My object being, as stated above, "to bring all young aspirants for literary honours and distinction within its influence."

As I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you at The Flosh the end of this month, if you could submit this proposition to your fellow-committeemen before then, we could talk the matter over when here, which would save much time and correspondence, and perhaps misunderstanding.

I am, my dear Sir, most truly yours,

THOMAS AINSWORTH.

Oldbury Double Lecture.

The yearly Lecture at Oldbury was held on Tuesday, Sept. 9, when the devotional service was conducted by the Rev. William Smith, of Walsall. The first discourse was delivered by the Rev. John Palmer, of Dudley, from Romans xii. 3, on the spirit in which religious controversy ought to be conducted; and the second by the Rev. Samuel Bache, of Birmingham, from Romans xii. 21, on the duty of Christians to "overcome evil with good." At the close of the service, the ministers and congregation walked in pro-

cession to a piece of ground in the immediate neighbourhood of the chapel, where, a hymn having been sung, the corner-stone of a new Free-school in Oldbury, for the education, on unsectarian principles, of two hundred children of both sexes, was laid by the Rev. William M'Kean, the master of the school, who delivered a suitable address on the occasion: after which, prayer was offered by the Rev. Stephenson Hunter, of Wolverhampton; and an appropriate hymn, with the benediction, closed this very interesting service. The whole had been attended by the children of the present school, by the ministers and congregation previously assembled in the chapel, and by a considerable number of the inhabitants of Oldbury,—all of whom appeared to take a lively interest in the important proceedings of the day.

MARRIAGES.

Aug. 19, at Bank-Street chapel, Bolton, by Rev. F. Baker, M.A., Mr. Thomas Atherton, to Helena, daughter of Mr. William Harrocks, both of Bolton.

Aug. 24, at Gulliford chapel, Lympstone, by Rev. Goodwyn Barmby, Mr. W. H. Ward to Miss Elizabeth Battiscombe, both of Topsham.

Aug. 27, at the chapel, Little Portland Street, Regent Street, by Rev. E. Tagart, Mr. John Mottram, of Little Britain, City, to Miss Margaret Cranbrook, of High Holborn.

Sept. 2, at the Presbyterian chapel, Dean Row, Cheshire, by Rev. William Gaskell, M.A., William Shaen, Esq., of Bedford Row, London, youngest son of Samuel Shaen, Esq., of Crix, Essex, to Emily, second daughter of Henry Winkworth, Esq., of Alderley.

Sept. 7, at the Old chapel, Dukinfield, by Rev. R. Brook Aspland, M.A., Mr. William Wild to Miss Eliza Sandiford, both of Dukinfield.

Sept. 9, at the Unitarian chapel, Crook Street, Chester, by Rev. James Malcolm, Thomas Johnson, Esq., of Manchester, to Mary Jane, only daughter of the late Stephen Humble, Esq., of Chester.

Sept. 9, at the Octagon chapel, Norwich, by George Dawson, M.A., Rev. J. Crompton, M.A., to Sarah Hayward, daughter of the late John Robbard Hayward, Esq., of Melton, Suffolk.

Sept. 10, at Little Portland-Street chapel, by Rev. John Boucher, George Lawford, Esq., second son of John Lawford, Esq., of Downhills, Tottenham, to Frances Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Charles Bischoff, Esq., of Torrington Square.

Sept. 10, at the General Baptist chapel, Billinghurst, by Rev. John Dendy, B.A., Mr. William Gardner, of London, to Rebecca, youngest daughter of Mr. William Evershed, of Tedfold, Billinghurst.

Sept. 11, at the Unitarian chapel, Barton Street, Gloucester, by Rev. J. H. Hutton, B.A., Charles Shard, Esq., of Brighton, only son of the late Charles Shard, of Hedgeley Park, in the county of Bucks, Esq., to Eliza Frances, only daughter of the late W. T. Washbourne, Esq., merchant, of the city of Gloucester.

Sept. 12, at the Unitarian chapel, Effra Road, Brixton, by Rev. Dr. Harrison, C. T. Blackman, Esq., surgeon, to Sarah, eldest daughter of George Webb, Esq., Beresford cottage, Charlton, Kent, and High Street, Whitechapel.

Sept. 13, at the Westgate chapel, Wakefield, by Rev. Edward Higginson, John Frost, eldest son of John Woodhead, Esq., of New York, to Emma, younger daughter of the late William Marriott, Esq., of Wakefield.

Sept. 18, at Hope-Street chapel, Liverpool, by Rev. James Martineau, J. W. Thompson, eldest son of Mr. Thompson, writing-master, Clayton Square, Liverpool, to Jane Elizabeth, eldest daughter of John Turner, Esq., Essex.

OBITUARY.

June 24, at Malvern, aged 30, Anne Lewis, wife of Clarkson Osler, Esq., of Malvern.

July 15, at Nantwich, Mr. Thomas Hammersley, aged 74 years. He was an Unitarian in sentiment. For many years he resided on the borders of Delamere Forest, and joined in the services formerly kept up at the little chapel so unadvisedly built in that district at the cost of the Unitarian public. During the latter years of his life he resided in Nantwich, and officiated as the minister of the ancient General Baptist chapel in that town. He was not possessed of learning or pulpit talent. But it may be recorded of him that he successfully defended the little place of worship of which he was the minister against "orthodox" spoliation, and gained a verdict at the Chester assizes. The chapel and yard, in which the widow of John Milton lies interred, are in a dilapidated and neglected condition.

July 30, at Portmadoc, Carnarvonshire, Hollis Solly, Esq., of Toll End, Staffordshire, in his 74th year,—accidentally drowned while bathing in the sea.

Aug. 16, in his 85th year, Rev. William Field, of Leam, Warwick. The removal of this venerable man from amongst us dissolves one of the few remaining ties that connect us with the last century. It was in July in the year 1790, that Mr. Field was ordained minister of the congregation assembling in High Street, Warwick. The sermon, containing a "View of Revealed Religion," from Ephesians i. 17—20, was preached by Dr. Priestley, and the Charge was given by Mr. Belsham, from 2 Cor. ii. 17. The service and the public dinner which followed were attended by Dr. Parr, who was then for the first time personally introduced to Dr. Priestley. The acquaintance thus begun was the commencement of a friendship which terminated only in the death of Dr. Priestley. In an account of the proceedings of the day by Mr. Field himself, it is said,—"The conversation, as might be expected, was animated and instructive, and, amidst other subjects, turned much on the good old times of William III. and the two first Georges,—when Churchmen and Dissenters met together in friendly intercourse, and when the points about which they differ were forgotten and disregarded, in consideration of the great points in which all are agreed." Mr. Field was the son of Calvinistic parents, and was not only brought up in their opinions, but commenced his studies for the ministry at the Homerton Academy. Like Messrs. Porter and Jardine, afterwards the ministers of Plymouth Dock and Bath, he left that Academy, in 1788, to finish his studies at Daventry. Here he had the advantage of one year's instruction from Mr. Belsham.—We trust to receive from some competent hand an account of Mr. Field's life and publications. As a minister of religion, a teacher of youth and an author, he has many claims on respectful and grateful remembrance.

Recently, at Hornby Castle, Rev. John Lingard, D.D., the eminent Catholic historian. The Rev. Alexander Paterson, of Stourbridge, has favoured us with the following communication:

"As it is probable that in the present No. of the Christian Reformer you will refer to the death of the late Dr. Lingard, I send you an extract from a letter written to me last year, in which he refers to the Unitarians in so handsome and liberal a manner as must raise him in our estimation, did he otherwise stand in need of proof respecting the possession of an enlightened spirit.

"After stating certain particulars about the last edition of his History of England, and informing me that he was then 'struggling with a very painful disease, and, what was perhaps as bad, with the infirmities that generally accompany old age,—for (he says) I am now in my eightieth year,'—he adds, 'Your being an Unitarian minister is rather a recommendation to me than otherwise. One of my oldest friends, and whose memory I still most warmly cherish, was an Unitarian minister, and probably personally known to you—Dr. Shepherd, of Gateacre, near Liverpool. I am under great obligations to several Unitarians, and shall always be ready to bear a willing testimony to their impartiality and benevolence, as well as their intelligence and literary acquirements.'

"'*Hornby, April* 1, 1850.'"